

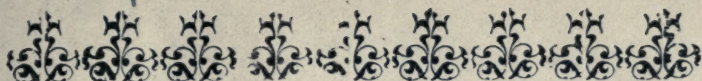
SPANISH
LITERATURE
A PRIMER

BY
J. FITZMAURICE-KELLY



OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS





SPANISH LITERATURE

A PRIMER

BY

JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY, F.B.A.

*Formerly Gilmour Professor of Spanish in the University
of Liverpool, and Cervantes Professor of Spanish
in the University of London*



1790 33.

26. 3. 23

OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW COPENHAGEN
NEW YORK TORONTO MELBOURNE CAPE TOWN
BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS SHANGHAI
HUMPHREY MILFORD

PREFACE

It is now nearly twenty-five years since I first published *A History of Spanish Literature*. It naturally had the limitations of the time at which it was written ; but it had the advantage, if advantage it were, of representing a personal knowledge of Campoamor, Valera, Núñez de Arce, Pereda, and especially Menéndez y Pelayo. This will explain in part the measure of success which the book obtained. In other respects the volume in its Spanish version owed some of its vogue to the fact that it was adopted in the Universities of Spain. But a work which was suitable for natives would scarcely meet the needs of foreign beginners. It was accordingly resolved to publish a Primer which should meet some of these needs at the same time that it expressed the views set down here. There are a certain number of points which would not be familiar even to natives, such as the absence of metrical system that characterizes the early Spanish *cantares de gesta* and the veering to the opposite extreme under Boscan's leadership. The suitability of the present little book for foreigners is, it may be hoped, possibly considerable, if the last twenty years of my life have not been altogether wasted in teaching Spanish in English Universities. It is not surprising that a Primer of the History of Literature should be in demand in the case of the language which, after English, is spoken by a larger number of people than any other speech of the West.

We cannot pretend that we have discovered half as much as we should like about the arcana of Spanish Literature ;

still, it is conceivable that we may be able to draw up a work from which no characteristic name shall be omitted and yet which shall suggest the skeleton and the flesh and blood beneath its housings and trappings. In a word, it is our hope to give a fair answer to any fair question on the intellectual life of Spain.

We learn from experience that information is required concerning the texts of the early period, whereas, apart from some of the writings of 'Azorin', critical judgements are available only in so far as they relate to the writers of the modern age. In accordance with this knowledge, the lists at the end of the following chapters are framed.

J. F.-K.

SYDENHAM,

December 1921.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. SPANISH LITERATURE BEFORE 1300	1
II. THE MIDDLE AGES	10
III. THE PASSING OF THE MIDDLE AGES	18
IV. THE MIDDLE RENAISSANCE	31
V. THE LATE RENAISSANCE	48
VI. THE GOLDEN AGE	59
VII. THE AGE OF CALDERON	81
VIII. THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY	88
IX. THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT	95
X. THE END OF ROMANTICISM	102
XI. THE AMERICAN WAR	108
XII. FROM 1898 TILL 1921	119
INDEX	129

CHAPTER I

SPANISH LITERATURE BEFORE 1300

THOUGH the Iberian peninsula was often invaded after the downfall of the Roman Empire, the invaders left but few traces of their passage on the current speech of the inhabitants. The Goths dominated Spain for some three centuries, yet they contributed little to the vocabulary of Spanish: many of the surviving words of Germanic origin either date from before the Gothic period, or were introduced from France long after the Gothic kingdom in Spain was destroyed. Some hold that Basque represents the language of the primitive inhabitants of Spain; be this so or not, philologists find hardly any trace of Basque in Spanish. The Spanish language is based, not on literary Latin, but on the Latin spoken by the less educated classes who formed the bulk of the Roman colonists. With the collapse of the Roman Empire, local linguistic differences asserted themselves increasingly, and by slow degrees the common Neo-Latin languages developed. As early as the eighth century, the Spanish variety of Romance was recognized as having attained independent life. In that century the Moors overran Spain, and they were not driven out for over seven hundred years. But, though the Moors long exercised political power, they did not succeed in imposing their speech upon the vanquished. Arabic was the language of the administration; the Arabic alphabet was sometimes used in writing Spanish; many Arabic words filtered into Spanish. These words are mostly nouns, names of material objects; their assimilation left intact the linguistic structure of the current speech. That structure was, and is, fundamentally Latin. In the Peninsula, three Romance languages still survive: Catalan, Portuguese, and Spanish. Like Portuguese, Catalan—an offshoot of Provençal—has a literature of its own. Of Spanish there are four main varieties: Galician, Aragonese, Leonese, and Castilian. Galician may be dismissed as a variant of Portuguese: Aragonese and Leonese are now little more than dialects. Castilian, based on the local variety of Romance originally

spoken in the neighbourhood of Toledo, is the standard literary language of Spain, and has been so since about the time of the saintly Ferdinand III (1200-1252). In Castilian are written the chief monuments of the literature with which we are here concerned.

That literature begins not much earlier than the twelfth century. Its earliest manifestations are presumed to have been epical. A considerable body of epical poetry is conjectured to have existed in Spain so far back as the tenth century. Traces of epics on such themes as Bernardo del Carpio, as Fernan Gonzalez and Rodrigo, have been conjectured to survive in the *Cronica General*.

The oldest extant Spanish epic is the *Cantar de mio Cid*, which dates from about the middle of the twelfth century (1). This *cantar de gesta*—the expression implies French *provenance*, and is appropriate enough in the case of the *Cantar de mio Cid*, since the Spanish poem is the work of some one not unacquainted with the *Chanson de Roland* and *Garin le Loherain*—is anonymous; the Per Abbat named in the text is a copyist; the *Cantar de moi Cid* is believed to be by a native of the Valle de Arbuyuelo, who celebrates the achievements of the Cid, otherwise Ruy Diaz de Bivar, a soldier of fortune, who died in 1099. Though the *Cantar de mio Cid* may be touched with French influence, that influence has not affected the metre, which is too anarchical to allow of its being reduced to uniformity. Nor does French influence affect the spirit of the Spanish poem. So far as matter goes, the *Cantar de mio Cid* is essentially historical; the poet errs on points of detail, but these are inadvertences rather than deliberate perversions; he wishes to state facts and, though he glosses over his hero's crimes, he does not idealize out of reason. What most stirs him is a gallant feat of arms. The supernatural element, though present, is little used; there are no love-episodes with Ximena; the human interest is limited to the scenes in which the Cid parts from his wife and daughters. In the Spanish epic there is little sentimentalism; there is no intentional attempt at wit. The *Cantar de mio Cid* is unequal; it contains ample, and rather dry, topographical detail. It cannot match the *Chanson de Roland* in poignant pathos and poetic splendour, but it breathes an equal patriotic spirit, and despite its tire-

some topographical minutiae has a massive force, an impressive simplicity, and a convincing verisimilitude which entitle it to admiration.

Some *cantares de gesta*, as we have seen, may lie embedded in chronicles, the compilers of which regarded the amorphous verses as having a certain historical authority. One of these—the *Cantar de los Infantes de Lara*—has recently been disengaged in part from its prose matrix (2), and the rescued fragment is pregnant with a barbaric pathos. The Lara legend dates back to the eleventh century, and it is conceivable that the fragmentary *Cantar*, disinterred with much patient skill by Sr. D. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, contains the nucleus of the primitive conception. Little by little, the gaps in the history of the Spanish epic are being bridged over, and the recent discovery of *Roncesvalles* is of special interest since it deals with a subject immortalized in the *Chanson de Roland*, and illustrates anew the absence of regular metrical design in the Spanish epic. These irregularities of versification may have diminished with time; but consideration of that possibility may be deferred till we reach another epic—on the youth of the future Cid—the ill-named *Cronica rimada*, which comes down to us as a recast in a fifteenth-century manuscript.

The epical poems, originally composed for lettered nobles, lost caste in the world and came to be recited in the open air by strollers (*juglares*), whose irregular measures were called *mester de jongleria*. A more elaborate, orderly versification, practised mainly by clerks, was called *mester de clerecia*. This comparatively learned form of verse consisted of quatrains of monorhymed alexandrines: whence its alternative name of *cuaderna via*. This metre, perhaps derived immediately from France, is used in the 656 stanzas of the *Libre de Appollonio* (3), probably a twelfth-century poem based perhaps on some Latin version of the King of Tyre's story—a story familiar to English students in Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (the first English poem to be translated into Spanish). The *Libre de Appollonio* is anonymous, and though the author, on setting out to *componer hun romance de nueva maestria*, piously invokes the aid of God and Our Lady, we cannot safely interpret this to mean that he was the first to introduce the *cuaderna via* into Spain. He may have been

the first, or he may not. The *nueva maestría* was not without rivals. Some other poems, assigned to the early thirteenth century, are written in verses other than the *cuaderna vía*: the *Disputa del Alma y el Cuerpo* (4), the *Vida de Santa Maria Egipcíaca* (5), and the *Libre dels tres Reyes d'orient* (6). The French original of the *Vida* has, however, been identified (the heroine was still a fashionable saint when Villon wrote his *Ballade de Notre Dame*), and the two other poems come almost certainly from a French source. So too, undoubtedly, is the *Auto de los Reyes Magos* (7), a fragmentary dramatic piece based on a Latin rite used at Orleans. Of greater artistic significance is the *Razon de Amor con los denuestos del agua y el vino*. This composition consists of two separate poems which chance has joined together in the existing manuscript. The *Razon de Amor* (8) describes the meeting and parting of two lovers, and is of special interest as being perhaps the oldest lyrical poem in Spanish: the other poem is manifestly modelled on some French original like the *Disputoison du vin et de l'aue*. The Lope de Moros mentioned in the manuscript is thought to be an Aragonese scribe: not the author of the verses. Whoever the author was, he found no immediate successors, partly because Castilian was not yet sufficiently supple to convey lyrical effects, and partly because there was a more insistent demand for pious narratives rhymed in the *cuaderna vía*.

Such narratives are copiously produced by Gonzalo de Berceo (1180?–1247?), the earliest Spanish poet whose name reaches us (9). Berceo, so called from his birthplace, was a secular priest attached to a Benedictine monastery near Nájera, the scene of a battle in which the Black Prince afterwards took part. No small proportion of Berceo's work is free translation; he never affects originality; often Berceo indicates his sources, and triumphs by virtue of devout sincerity and naïf candour. Reverentially as he usually treats his pious themes—the Sacrifice of the Mass, the Blessed Virgin, the lives of provincial saints, the Last Judgement, and so forth—he deals with them from the point of view of a simple village priest—a peasant with a tincture of learning which has not yet diminished his innate credulity and bluff joviality. Berceo, who has in him much of the stuff of a garrulous hind, as well as a poet, is apt to err by diffuseness; yet he

knows how to curb this tendency, and often contrives to be more concise than his elder contemporary *trouvère* Gautier de Coinci, who frequently versified the same originals. Berceo has an eye for picturesque detail; at whiles he hits upon a memorable phrase; and, once at least, he breaks away from the humdrum measure of the *cuaderna via* to try a new metrical experiment. He suffered a temporary eclipse during the Renaissance period, but his recognition dates from about 1688, and his unstudied simplicity fascinated the whole world when his complete works were at last printed in 1780. The poems of which Berceo is incontestably the author amount to over thirteen thousand lines. He has also had ascribed to him the *Libro de Alexandre*, a long poem in the *cuaderna via*, packed with a mass of miscellaneous learning most uncharacteristic of Berceo. The *Libro de Alexandre* (10), which may be by Lorenzo de Segura, has influenced the *Poema de Fernan Gonçalez* (11), a rough recast (made between 1250 and 1270) of epical legends relating to the eponymous hero (who died in 970). Intermediate between the popular epic and the artistic epic, the *Poema de Fernan Gonçalez* must indeed have attained a wide vogue, if, as has been said, a trace of it is found in *Hernault de Beaulande*.

A return to popular verse may be sought in *Elena y Maria* (12), a versified discussion of the respective attractions of a knight and a man of letters. This old Spanish version is based on the *Jugement d'Amour*, and is therefore to be dated from about the last third of the thirteenth century. It is comic, picaresque, and in some respects anticipates Juan Ruiz. Hitherto we have dealt with verse. Prose, of course, comes later, and was produced sparingly till the thirteenth century was half over.

From early in that century dates a bald compilation entitled the *Diez Mandamientos* (13), intended to serve as a guide to confessors. Written between 1219 and 1250, the first two series of *Anales Toledanos* (14) are often little more than the framework of a chronological record; the second series has the interest of being pieced together by a *morisco* who scarcely dissimulates his joy when his kinsmen inflict a defeat on the Christians. More elaborate historical works were written in Latin: such, for instance, as the *Historia Gothica* (15) of the Archbishop of Toledo, Rodrigo Ximenez

de Rada (1170?-1247), who brought his narrative down to 1243. This history was done into Castilian (16) at the request of Ferdinand III, at whose command was issued in 1241 the *Fuero Juzgo* (17), a Castilian version of the Gothic *Forum Iudicum*. This compilation of laws has but slight literary interest, and not much more attractive are the *Libro de los buenos Proverbios* (18) and the *Bocados de Oro* (19), both translated from the Arabic. With these works we may perhaps class the *Flores de Filosofia* (20) and the *Libro de los doze sabios* (21), which likewise derive from the Arabic.

These translations may have been partly due to the initiative of St. Ferdinand's eldest son, Alfonso X, known also as Alfonso the Learned (*el Sabio*). A failure as a ruler, Alfonso (1220?-1284) was indefatigable in promoting knowledge. Before his accession (1252) he had busied himself in having *Kalilah* and *Dinnah* (22) done into Castilian. Early in his reign he was responsible for scientific treatises like the *Libro de las Tablas Alphonsies* and the *Libros del Saber de Astronomia* (23). He was not above improving the style of his collaborators in these technical works (*quanto en el lenguaje, enderezólo él por sí*); but his literary activity found more scope in the composition of poems, in the construction of a code, and in the compilation of histories.

Though the name of Alfonso the Learned is attached to the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (24), a collection of 424 songs written in Galician, it is far from certain that he composed all of these devout poems. Still if he wrote only one of the *Cantigas*, it would be interesting to know why the King of Castile preferred to compose verses in Galician. In this case, the most obvious explanation is no doubt the true one. Vigorously as Alfonso strove to promote the use of Castilian, he cannot have failed to recognize that it was less supple than Galician, and therefore less suited to the exercise of his individual gifts. Assuming that Alfonso wrote any of the more typical *Cantigas*, remarkable for their technical dexterity, he vastly excelled Berceo in metrical accomplishment, if not in authentic inspiration. Though in practice Alfonso showed no pedantic respect for the letter of the law, he was energetic in codifying, and displayed literary qualities in *Las Siete Partidas* (25), so called because of their being arranged in seven divisions, each of which begins with a letter that goes

to form an acrostic—Alfonso—on the king's name. Apart from their special value as a monument of jurisprudence, *Las Siete Partidas* afford an excellent view of contemporary customs, and are not without touches of pawky humour. In history, also, Alfonso did sound pioneer work. Helped by collaborators like José Gil de Zamora and Jofré de Loaysa, he commanded the compilation of two considerable historical works: the *Cronica general* (26) (or *Estoria d'España*) and an unfinished *Grande et general Estoria* (27), which, though put together before 1280, is still unpublished. The *Cronica general* would appear to have been begun about 1270, and to have been set aside for a while to enable progress to be made with the *Grande et general Estoria*. A relatively pure text of the *Cronica general* has been available only since 1906, and this we may call the *Primera Cronica general*. The ensuing modifications of the text are worth noting. The original *Cronica general* was first rehandled by Alfonso X's nephew, Don Juan Manuel, who abridged it under the title of *Cronica abreviada* (1320–1329). Next we have a recast embodying the Arabic chronicle of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Râzî of Córdoba and, as the Spanish version of al-Râzî was finished on the 21st January 1344, this *Segunda Cronica general* is commonly called the *Cronica de 1344*; from a later recast—no longer in existence—derives the *Tercera Cronica general*, which was published at Zamora in 1541 by Florian de Ocampo, who was under the impression that he was issuing the genuine primitive text. Even now, it behoves us to be cautious in judging the *Cronica*, for there are differences between copies of the *Cronica general* which purport to be identical, and there are differences also between what we may call the vulgate of the *Primera Cronica general* and the *versión regia*. Like Mariana long after him, Alfonso X aimed at providing Spaniards with a historical record which could be read even by the unlearned. His effort was premature. One of his best collaborators, José Gil de Zamora, reverted to Latin when, in the *De praeconiis Hispaniae* (1278–1282), he wrote history on his own account.

Literary talent was hereditary in Alfonso's family. His nephew, Don Juan Manuel, is a most distinguished figure in the history of mediaeval literature; his great grandson,

Alfonso XI, the ruthless father of Peter the Cruel, was a poet of merit, and Alfonso's brother Fadrique—who was strangled by the king's orders in 1277—was responsible for the *Libro de los engaños e los asayamientos de las mugeres* (28), a series of twenty-six tales translated from the Arabic and redolent of the *Thousand and One Nights*, to which the *Donsella Teodor* (29) is attached. Till the year 1906, Alfonso's turbulent son and successor, Sancho IV, *el Bravo* (d. 1295), was held to be the author of the *Libro de castigos e documentos* (30), a compilation which was thought to embody Sancho's advice to his son. It has lately been proved by two distinguished French scholars that nearly half of the *Libro de castigos e documentos* is translated from the *De Regimine Principum*, composed about 1274 by Ægidius Colonne for Philip the Fair of France. The Spanish version is the work of Juan García de Castrogeriz, who flourished more than fifty years after Sancho IV's death. It is more than doubtful whether Sancho himself wrote anything: possibly, however, he encouraged the literary movement which continued during his turbulent reign. *Li Livres dou Tresor* of Brunetto Latini were translated by Sancho's secretary Pero (or Pascual) Gomez in collaboration with a surgeon named Alonso de Paredes. The third and fourth parts of the *Cronica general* were written during the reign of Sancho IV, who is mentioned in Chapter 633 as being on the throne. Possibly at about this time was begun the compilation of the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar* (31), a confused and fabulous account of the Crusades which would appear to be based on a French original. If, as is maintained, Sancho IV indeed promoted any of these enterprises, he is entitled to rank as a patron of literature.

EDITIONS, &c.

- (1) R. Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de mio Cid*; *texto, gramática y vocabulario*, Madrid, 1908-1911; text reprinted in *Poema de Mio Cid y otros monumentos primitivos de la poesía española*, Madrid, 1919, pp. 11-167. (2) R. Menéndez Pidal, *La leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*, Madrid, 1896. (3) Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. LVII; ed. C. Carroll Marden, Baltimore-Paris, 1917. (4) R. Menéndez Pidal, in *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, Vol. IV, pp. 449-453; text reprinted in *Poema de Mio Cid* &c., Bib. Calleja (Madrid 1919) pp. 209-210. (5) R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Vida de Santa Maria Egipcíaca*, Barcelona, 1907. (6) Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LVII; text reprinted in *Poema de Mio Cid* &c., Bib. Calleja (Madrid, 1919) pp. 197-204. (7) R. Menéndez Pidal, in *Revista*

de Archivos, &c. (1900), Vol. IV, pp. 453-462; text reprinted in *Poema de Mio Cid* &c., Bib. Calleja (Madrid, 1919) pp. 183-191. (8) R. Menéndez Pidal, in *Revue Hispanique* (1905), Vol. XIII, pp. 602-618; text reprinted in *Poema de Mio Cid* &c., Bib. Calleja (Madrid, 1919); pp. 215-224. (9) Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LVII; *La Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*, Paris, 1904, ed. J. D. Fitz-gerald (Bib. de l'École des Hautes Études, fasc. 149); *El Sacrificio de la Misa*, ed. A. G. Solalinde, Madrid, 1913. (10) Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LVII. (11) Ed. C. Carroll Marden, *Poema de Fernan Gonçalez*, Baltimore, 1904. (12) Ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, in *Revista de Filología Española* (1914), Vol. I, pp. 52-96; text reprinted in *Poema de Mio Cid* &c., Bib. Calleja (Madrid, 1919) pp. 229-241. (13) Ed. A. Morel-Fatio, in *Romania* (1887), Vol. XXI, pp. 379-382. (14) Ed. E. Florez, in *España sagrada* (Madrid, 1799), Vol. XXIII, pp. 381-424. (15) Ed. A. Schott, *Hispaniae illustratae . . . scriptores varii*, Frankfort, 1603-1608, Vol. I. (16) Ed. A. Paz y Mélia, *Colección de documentos inéditos* (1887), Vol. LXXXIII. (17) Ed. Academia Española, Madrid, 1815. (18) Ed. H. Knust, in *Mittheilungen aus dem Eskurial*, Tübingen, 1879, pp. 1-65, 519-537. (19) Ed. H. Knust, in *Mittheilungen aus dem Eskurial*, Tübingen, 1879, pp. 66-498, 538-601. (20) Ed. H. Knust, in *Dos Obras didácticas y dos leyendas* (Soc. de biblióf. españoles), 1878, pp. 11-83. (21) Ed. A. M. Burriel, in *Memorias para la vida del santo rey Fernando III*, Madrid, 1800, pp. 188-206. (22) Ed. C. G. Allen, Mâcon, 1906; Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LI, ed. A. G. Solalinde, Bib. Calleja, Madrid, 1917. (23) Ed. M. Rico y Sinobas, Madrid, 1863-1867, 5 vols. (24) Ed. R. Academia Española, Madrid, 1889, 2 vols. (25) Ed. R. Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 1807, 3 vols. (26) Ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. V. (27) In preparation by A. G. Solalinde. (28) Ed. A. Bonilla y San Martín, *Bibliotheca hispanica*, Vol. XIV. (29) Ed. H. Knust, *Mittheilungen aus dem Eskurial*, Tübingen, 1879, pp. 507-517, 613-630. (30) Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LI. (31) Ed. P. de Gayangos, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XLIV.

CHAPTER II

THE MIDDLE AGES

EXCEPT as regards epic poetry (of which few specimens survive), early Castilian literature is mainly imitative. No great importance attaches to the anonymous *Vida de San Ildefonso* (1), composed by an unknown beneficiary of Úbeda shortly after the Feast of the Saint was fixed in May 1302. To this period belongs the *Poema de José* (2), perhaps the best extant example of the *literatura aljamiada* (the name applied to the body of Spanish texts transcribed in Arabic characters). Intended to hold a Mohammedan public, written probably by an Aragonese Morisco, it gives the Koranic version of Joseph's story. Were there any grounds for the theory that Arabic influenced Castilian literature formally, some confirmation of this view might be expected in the *Poema de José*. It is, however, cast in the *cuaderna via*: a fact which might lend colour to the idea that Castilian art, as far south as Aragón, had perhaps influenced Arabic.

As might be inferred from the choice of a vehicle in the case of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, a graceful, too ingenious school of poetry existed meanwhile in Galicia and gradually affected Castilian poetry. A trace of some such reaction is noticeable in a copy of verses ascribed to Alfonso X's great-grandson, Alfonso XI (1311-1350), a strenuous warrior and high-handed ruler who reigned twenty-five years from 1325 onwards. He is represented in the *Canzoniere portoghese della Biblioteca Vaticana* (3) by a love-song which may conceivably have been written in Castilian before being transcribed into Galician. Other branches of literature were cultivated during the series of campaigns waged in Alfonso XI's reign. For instance, the *Segunda Cronica General*, or *Cronica general de 1344*, a continuation of the undertaking begun in the reign of Alfonso X and carried further under Sancho IV, brings the record down to within a few years of Alfonso XI's death.

Perhaps before Sancho came to the throne, new ground was broken in the anonymous *Historia del Caballero de Dios que avia nombre Cifar* (4). The author, possibly a cleric of

Toledo, had read widely in French literature before beginning his picture of a knight who is accompanied by a squire, much addicted to interlarding his talk with proverbs. As the *Caballero Cifar* was printed in 1512, Cervantes may have borrowed a hint from it: at any rate, the book ranks as the first attempt at a novel in Spanish, and in the characters of Cifar and the Ribaldo, it adumbrates both the future tales of chivalry and the future picaresque novels. A more personal note is struck by Alfonso X's nephew, Don Juan Manuel (1282-1348), who is copiously represented, though many of his works have been lost. The wonder is that the Infante Juan Manuel found time to write at all, for most of his life was spent in practical affairs: when he was twelve he was appointed *adelantado* of Murcia by Sancho IV; he served Sancho IV's son, Ferdinand IV, *el Emplazado* (1295-1312), as major-domo, and during the minority of Alfonso XI he acted as one of the regents. Much against his will he resigned his regency, and lived constantly on bad terms with his recent ward. His love for literature was no less strong than his political ambition. The most famous of his works is the *Libro de los enxiemplos del conde Lucanor y de Patronio* (5), which was ended in 1335. The first and chief part consists of fifty-one instructive or edifying anecdotes recounted to the young noble, Lucanor, by the sage Patronio, who conveys to the youth some of the worldly wisdom amassed by Juan Manuel. It is true that the exemplary stories, derived ultimately from Arabic apologues in many cases, are related less for their own sake than because they 'enforce a moral'. Seldom is Juan Manuel diffuse; he tends rather to sententiousness; though he does not completely break away from the cumbrous sentences characteristic of the treatises ascribed to Alfonso X, he renders them more supple. His vocabulary is as simple as his construction, and his pages are lit up by flashes of unsmiling humour. At the end of each chapter Juan Manuel condenses the moral of the previous *enxiemplo* into verse. However, both his poems (*Libro de las cantigas*) and his *ars poetica*, entitled *Reglas de como se debe trobar*, have vanished. This fact is the more to be regretted inasmuch as the former existed in the time of Gonzalo Argote de Molina (1549?-1597?), Juan Manuel's first editor. Hence we must judge him mainly under one aspect of his various talent. So judged,

he is the first of Spaniards to acquire a personal manner in prose.

Among his contemporaries was a greater master who wrote principally in verse. This was the 'Spanish Chaucer', Juan Ruiz, archpriest of Hita, part of whose *Libro de buen amor* (6) seems to have been written in jail about 1350 or earlier. Nothing certain is known about Ruiz, except that he had ceased to be archpriest of Hita in January 1351. Possibly he was dead at this date; possibly he may have been suspended, for he was a libidinous clerk whose loose morals caused scandal in his own relaxed period. This view has been contested, yet it is corroborated by the internal testimony of his autobiographical poem: the *Libro de buen amor* (as contrasted with *amor mundano*). Ruiz was a picaroon as well as a priest. In a preliminary scrap of prose he professes to aim at edification, or—at worst—to teach the mysteries of prosody by example. Forgetting these professions, he proceeds to unfold a panorama of society, which he depicts with unedifying humour. In his cynical attitude to existence, Ruiz is typical of his age. He knows that the clergy are not always models of austerity, that traders are not always of a rigid honesty, that money is more respected than the ten commandments. He notes the frailties of mankind with an amused fidelity; his rendering of life is as incomparably joyous as it is vivid; he heightens effects by confessing to lapses which, as an officious moralist, he is compelled to condemn ironically. Besides his capital of perverse experiences, he can draw upon a wide range of reading. If he relates amours, he recalls Ovid; he borrows from French *contes* or *fabliaux*, and, if he sometimes emphasizes the licentious note of his originals, he often vindicates his lack of sample by his vigorous handling and merry wit. His account of the contest between Don Carnal and Doña Quaresma is a free adaptation of the *Bataille de Karesme et de Charnage*; he vitalizes themes suggested by Arabic apoloques; he appears to have made some sallies into Italian literature; he interpolates descriptive passages from the *Libro de Alexandre*. Nothing comes amiss to him: folklore, *cantares de gesta*, tags of Arthurian legends are alike assimilated by his impish spirit. His characters throb with an intense dramatic life and impose themselves on his successors. As the astute Trotaconventas anticipates the

resourceful Celestina in the *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea* (7), so Don Furon anticipates the starving gentleman in *Lazarillo de Tormes*: so, too, Melon de Uerta and Endrina de Calatayud somewhat foreshadow the figures of those 'star-crossed lovers' Romeo and Juliet. Indulgent in judgement, Ruiz observes with meticulous accuracy; his vigilant preoccupation with his personages does not diminish the variety of his metrical design; though he uses the *cuaderna via*, the measure most in vogue among the learned when he was young, he manipulates it with an easy freedom hitherto unequalled; he goes further afield, varying his rhythms at will, adumbrating the future *verso de arte mayor*, finding forms appropriate to themes devout, licentious, or dramatic. In his *cantares serranos* (8) he transfers to Castile the *cantares de ledino*, imparting to them the savour of his malicious genius. Popular forms of verse appealed to him as insidiously as approved literary models. With a touch of pride, he relates that he had written songs innumerable for blind beggars, for students who prowled the streets, for dancing Jewesses and Moorish girls. Ruiz, no doubt, valued himself as an experimenter in verse. His self-esteem was justified. Still, he survives to posterity by virtue of his exceptional creative power and his satirical transcription of his fellow-creatures' foibles.

Both prose and verse were alike successfully practised by Pero Lopez de Ayala (1332-1407), one of the few Basques to reach eminence in Spanish literature. He began life at court as page to Peter the Cruel, whom he cynically deserted in 1366; passing over to Peter's bastard half-brother, the future Henry II, Lopez de Ayala finally rose to be Chancellor of Castile in 1398. Being on the losing side at the battle of Aljubarrota (1385), he was captured by the Portuguese and placed in an iron cage at Oviedes. There he wrote a treatise on falconry, which he dedicated in 1386 to his sporting kinsman, Bishop Gonzalo de Mena. The book, packed with odd technical terms, has no special value except to philologists; but the fact that it was written in such circumstances illustrates the author's knack of utilizing every opportunity. His prosperity was greatly due to his tenacious industry. He translated into Castilian treatises by the fathers, Guido delle Colonne's *Historia Trojana* and (in part) Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum et feminarum illustrium*. A version of Livy, rendered

through Pierre Berquire's French translation, prepared him to write his principal prose work: an historical account of the chief events which characterized the reigns of Peter the Cruel, of Henry II, of John I, and—an unfinished fragment—of Henry III. These kings reigned from 1350 to 1407, a period of which Lopez de Ayala had a first-hand knowledge. Though he might easily be suspected of time-serving, he seems impartial and never forgets that his royal benefactors were but men. It is true that he is accused of prejudice against his former master, Peter the Cruel, but the mere recital of Peter's misdeeds would leave a bad impression. Possibly Lopez de Ayala was biased: possibly he believed too readily the stories spread by Peter's enemies. As a rule Lopez de Ayala tells the truth as he sees it. He adheres to the convention of ascribing to his personages speeches which were never delivered. Such speeches are of use as containing dramatic explanations of motive. Despite this preservation of an antiquated practice, Lopez de Ayala made a step in advance by introducing an artistic element, a personal interpretation of incident. His phrase is picturesque and trenchant; his vision is individual; and in his hands the transition from simple chronicling to literary history is accomplished.

Many years of his long life were spent on the *Rimado de Palacio* (9): a series of independent poems, clumsily strung together in the existing copies. The most interesting passages in the *Rimado de Palacio* satirize all ranks of society with an angry bitterness, in curious contrast to the gay mockery of Ruiz. While the archpriest shakes with laughter at men's foibles, the Chancellor fulminates against their crimes. Both men agree in their diagnosis: their systems of treatment differ. Ruiz is content to tickle: Lopez de Ayala uses a branding-iron and mournfully exhorts the wicked, among whom he counts himself, to prompt repentance. As he falls short of Ruiz in mischievous merriment, so he is no match for the archpriest in technical dexterity. The chancellor writes principally in the *cuaderna via*. Yet he evidently fears that the attraction of this measure is nearly exhausted, for when he ceases to inveigh he essays the new-fangled *versos de arte mayor*, an experiment to which he returns in the *Cancionero de Baena* (10). But the *cuaderna via* was not yet dead, as may be seen in the *Libro de la miseria del omne* (11); it

may have lasted till about the middle of the fourteenth century.

Vaguely reminiscent of Lopez de Ayala's hortatory methods are the *Proverbios morales* (12) of the Rabbi Santob, whose date is approximately settled by the fact that he dedicates his 686 gnomic quatrains to Peter the Cruel. Santob, the first Jew who habitually uses Castilian as a literary instrument, is called by Santillana a *grand trovador* (which is not the same thing as a great poet). Santob is monotonous, and his economy of words makes him obscure. But the oriental savour of his disillusioned integrity has the attraction of novelty. Santob is known to have written other poems besides the *Proverbios morales*, but he cannot be the author of three poems sometimes ascribed to him: the *Doctrina de la discriçion* (13) (which is by a contrite clerk named Pedro de Veragüe), the *Revelacion de vn hermitanno* (14), written in 1382, and the *Danza de la Muerte* (15), which dates from about the fifteenth century. Santob was almost certainly dead before the *Revelacion* was penned.

Meanwhile the Spanish epic was entering on its last stage. The *Poema de Alfonso Onceno* (16), written by a Galician or Portuguese named Rodrigo Yannes, heralded the coming of the *romance*: the anarchical metre of the old *cantares de gesta* gives way to octosyllabics alternately arranged. This metre is not suitable to long poems besprinkled plentifully with proper names. Though not a great poet, Yannes allies the spirit of the old epic inspiration with the fleeter movement of the border-ballad. This *Poema de Alfonso Onceno* belongs to the end of the fourteenth century. To this period likewise belongs a recast of another poem on the Cid. This recast is represented solely by a later recast preserved in a fifteenth-century manuscript. Its mention at this point may be justified by the fact that many of its legends derive from the *Segunda Cronica general*. The old-fashioned title of this late and fragmentary epic is *Cronica rimada de las cosas de España desde la muerte del rey don Pelayo hasta don Fernando el Magno, y mas particularmente de las aventuras del Cid*; a shorter, better name has been proposed: the *Cantar de Rodrigo* (17). A comparison with the *Poema del Cid* proves the decadence of the *genre*. In the *Cantar de mio Cid* (18) the portrait of the hero has some close relation to historical facts. In the

Cantar de Rodrigo facts are superseded by legends. The future Cid is portrayed at the age of twelve as slaying the conde Gomez de Gormaz, who had insulted Rodrigo's father by plundering his flocks and ill-using his shepherds. The triumphant boy is claimed as husband by the dead count's youngest daughter, Ximena Gomez; one extravagance is piled on another till the narrative breaks off with a description of Rodrigo's thundering at the gates of Paris, where he grants a truce to the King of France, whom he treats as insolently as he treats the Pope and the Emperor of Germany. These inventions are further embellished, not only by native ballad-makers and dramatists, but by Corneille, Victor Hugo, Théophile Gautier, Leconte de Lisle, and José-Maria de Heredia.

The *Poema de Alfonso Onceno* may be of Galician origin. Other fourteenth-century poems which have strayed into the *Cancionero de Baena* (compiled about 1445) are by Galicians, or by writers, like Lopez de Ayala, who were interested in the Galician school of courtly versification. Some of the Galician 'makers' belong to this early period. Among these are the plaintive Macias (d. 1390?), the novel-reading elegist, Pero Ferruz (whose real surname is said to be Ferrandes), a clerical humorist who was still known as Archdeacon of Toro in 1383, and Garci Ferrandes de Gerena, an eccentric adventurer. Macias owes his celebrity less to his frugal production—only five of the twenty-one poems ascribed to him are unquestionably authentic—than to the story which represents him as being killed by a jealous husband. Ferruz, who passes for the eldest of the quartet, is better known because of his early allusion to *Amadis de Gaula* (19) than because of his poem commemorative of Henry III. The real name of the Archdeacon of Toro seems to have been Gonzalo Rodriguez: his jovial vitality distinguishes him from the artificial 'makers' of his school. Garci Ferrandes de Gerena owes whatever interest is taken in him to his supposed experiences. Marrying a Moorish singer whom he strangely mistook for an heiress, he sought refuge from his unhappiness in a hermitage: his repentance did not last long, for on coming out into the world he became a Mohammedan and wedded his first wife's sister. Nothing that he wrote is so absorbing as these incredible adventures. The fact that he wrote in Galician excuses the mention here, out

of strict chronological order, of a later rhymester, Alfonso Álvarez de Villasandino (1350 ?-1428 ?), whose metrical skill was only eclipsed by his fluency and his habit of mendicancy.

EDITIONS, &c.

- (1) Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LVII. (2) Ed. H. Morf, Leipzig, 1883; Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LVII. (3) Ed. E. Monaci, Halle a. S., 1875. (4) Ed. H. Michelant, Tübingen, 1872 (Bib. des litt. Vereins in Stuttgart, Vol. CXII. (5) Ed. H. Knust, Leipzig, 1900; ed. E. Krapf, Vigo, 1902; ed. F. J. Sánchez Cantón, Bib. Calleja, Madrid, 1920. (6) Ed. F. Janer, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LVII; Clásicos Castellanos (Madrid, 1913, ed. J. Cejador y Franca); Bib. Calleja (Madrid, 1917, ed. A. Reyes). (7) Ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, Bib. hispanica (1902), Vol. XII; ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, Bib. hispanica (1900), Vol. I; Bib. Calleja, Madrid, 1917, ed. E. Díez-Canedo; Clásicos Castellanos, Madrid, 1913, ed. J. Cejador y Franca). (8) Ed. F. Janer, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LVII. (9) *Poesías del Canciller P. L. de A.*, ed. A. F. Kuersteiner, Bib. hispanica, Vols. XXI, XXII; ed. F. Janer, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LVII. (10) Ed. P. J. Pidal, Madrid, 1851; ed. Fr. Michel, Leipzig, 1860. (11) Ed. M. Artigas, *Un nuevo poema por la cuaderna vía*, Santander, 1920. (12) Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LVII. (13) Ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc in *Revue hispanique* (1906), Vol. XIV, pp. 565-597. (14) Ed. J. M. Octavio de Toledo in *Zeitschrift für rom. Philologie* (1878), Vol. II, pp. 63-69; Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LVII. (15) Ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, Barcelona, 1907 (Textos castellanos antiguos II); Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LVII. (16) Ed. F. Janer, Madrid, 1863; Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LVII. (17) Ed. B. P. Bourland in *Revue hispanique* (1911), Vol. XXIV, pp. 310-357; Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XVI, pp. 651-664, text reprinted in *Poema de Mio Cid etc.*, Bib. Calleja (Madrid, 1919), pp. 245-297. (18) Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LVII; ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1908. (19) Ed. P. de Gayangos, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XL.

CHAPTER III

THE PASSING OF THE MIDDLE AGES

Two tardy compilations in the mediaeval manner—both approximately of the same date—are the anonymous *Libro de los gatos* (1) (perhaps a misreading of *quētos*, according to a probable conjecture) and *El Libro de enxemplos por a. b. c.* (2); the former is mainly a translation of the Latin *narrationes* of Odo of Cheriton (d. 1247); the latter was put together by Clemente Sanchez de Vercial, an ecclesiastic who was still alive in 1434. Greater zeal for novelty was shown by Enrique de Villena (1384–1434), who is remembered for his versions of Virgil and Dante. A clumsy prose-writer, Villena, owing to his learning, was esteemed a wizard by contemporaries; he enjoys a posthumous immortality in works by Quevedo, Rojas Zorrilla, and Hartzenbusch. He dedicated his disappointing *Arte de trobar* (3) to his kinsman, Íñigo Lopez de Mendoza (1398–1458), who was created Marqués de Santillana (4) in 1445. Unlike Villena, Santillana wrote very readable prose. His literary fame, however, depends on his verses. Though he speaks of Alain Chartier, Othon de Granson, Guillaume de Machault, and the authors of the *Roman de la Rose*, he is more obviously influenced by Italy than by France. An early gleam of interest in Italy had been shown by Santillana's ancestor, Lopez de Ayala. The influence of Italy grew, partly owing to the imposing merit of Italian writers, and partly owing to accidental political circumstances. Alfonso V of Aragon—immortalized through being mentioned by Villon—put forward dubious claims to the crown of Sicily, and after a preliminary failure, entered Naples as victor in 1443. Spain and Italy were henceforth more closely associated. Santillana's interest in Italy dates back earlier, as may be judged from the fact that Villena dedicated to him a version of the *Divina Commedia* in 1427; in Santillana's *Comedieta de Ponça* Boccaccio appears speaking in Italian; Santillana's *Triumphete de Amor* is suggested by Petrarch; *El Infierno de los Enamorados* of Santillana is reminiscent of Dante; Santillana's forty-two sonnets—the first genuine sonnets in Spanish

(for the so called sonnets ascribed to Juan de Villalpando (5) are really written in *versos de arte mayor*)—are, as he notes with decent pride, *fechos al italico modo*. Though he knew French, Italian, and perhaps Arabic, he had no Latin; and had to be content with reading the classics and the Fathers in translations. But scholarship was not his calling. His interests were divided between politics and poetry. The two inform the *Dotrinal de Privados* (1454), a furious philippic against Álvaro de Luna (1385 ?–1483): Santillana's position in Spanish literature is assured by his graceful *serranillas* and *vaqueiras*. These may be due in the first instance to Provençal example. Imitation which produces results as fresh, individual and beautiful as Santillana's *Vaqueira de Finojosa* needs no apology.

Versifying became almost a plague during the reign of John II, thanks to the example set by that frivolous king and his able statesman Álvaro de Luna. The poetical production of this period is represented in an ill-arranged compilation already mentioned: the *Cancionero de Baena* (6). This anthology was put together, not later than 1445, by a copious but mediocre poet named Juan Alfonso de Baena, who included the work of dead-and-gone Galicians as well as verses by contemporary Castilians or Andalusians. The most influential of these versifiers was Francisco Imperial, a man of Italian descent, whose *Dezir de las syete virtudes*, though but a pallid pastiche of passages from the *Divina Commedia*, did much more than Villena's lumbering version to make Dante the fashion. Three other natives of Seville are prominent in Baena's collection: Ruy Paez de Ribera, whose complaints of poverty have a poignant force which bespeaks personal experience; Ferrant Manuel de Lando, an inveterate Italianate, despite his French descent, who wasted a fine talent in polemics with the shameless Villasandino; and Gonzalo Martinez de Medina, whose elegies are penetrated by a sincere pathos of their own. The pathos of Martinez de Medina is, however, inferior to the plangency of Ferrant Sanchez Talavera, who, in the *Cancionero de Baena*, anticipates the sad emotional quality of Jorge Manrique's masterpiece.

Though not great poets, these writers outshine the Spaniards who soon afterwards gathered round Alfonso V at Naples. Of the Spanish-Neapolitan writers the best was Carvajal (7) (or

Carvajales), whose sonorous *versos de arte mayor* reverberate with a martial music more stirring than the imitations of Dante—as, for instance, the *Loores al Señor Rey don Alfonso* of Johan de Andújar—with which many of his rivals were content. Carvajal is also credited with writing two of the earliest signed *romances* (a special form of Spanish verse to which we shall recur). That the *versos de arte mayor* hit the popular taste in Spain may be inferred from the evolution of this rhythm in the morbid allegory of the anonymous *Danza de la Muerte* (8). The master of this form was Santillana's friend, Juan de Mena (9) (1411–1456), a Cordoban who, as is shown by the best passages of *El Laberinto de la Fortuna* (10) (written about 1445), had in him the making of a considerable poet. Overburdened by pedantry, Mena failed to do full justice to his natural gifts. Taking Dante for a model, he adventured an allegory, but substituted clangorous rhetoric or nocturnal gloom for the puissant elevation and serene clarity of his great exemplar. At whiles Mena rises to the level of his high patriotic theme, but such moments are relatively rare with him. There is genuine music in his verse, yet its brassy tone tends to be monotonous. Obscure in verse, he is almost unintelligible in prose; hence the ascription to him of certain excellent prose works lacks plausibility. Mena was a poet, shackled by erroneous theories. His prose combines almost all the faults of which prose is capable.

The best prose-writer of John II's reign was Fernan Perez de Guzman (1376?–1460). His copious verse is now forgotten, and his posthumous fame is based on *Las Generaciones, Semblanças y obras de los ecelentes reyes de España don Enrique el tercero y don Juan el segundo, y de los venerables perlados y notables caualleros que en los tiempos destos reyes fueron* (11). This is a collection of word-portraits which forms the third part of the *Mar de istorias* (12). The first two sections of the *Mar de istorias* are negligible. Though Perez de Guzman has been compared to Tacitus and to Saint-Simon, he has nothing of the laconic vigour of the one, nor the mortal malignity of the other. He has, however, a massive force and impartial vision which make his likenesses convincing.

During John II's minority Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo (d. 1412), in the *Historia del gran Tamorlan, e Itinerario y enarracion del viaje, y relacion de la embaxada* (13), described a journey (1403–

1404) made by him from Puerto Santa Maria to Samarcand, where he saw Timur and beheld the giraffe presented to the aged conqueror by the Sultan of Cairo. Gonzalez de Clavijo's prose is inferior in charm to that of Gutierre Diez de Games (1379?-1450), who about 1431 wrote a delightful book called *El Victorial* (14), which records the exploits of his braggart master Pero Niño, Conde de Buelna. Pero Niño has little claim to respect; yet he must have had sound literary instinct or marvellous luck, for no contemporary writes better prose than his squire, whom he appointed his biographer. With engaging simplicity Pero Tafur (1410?-1484), in his *Andanças e viajes, por diuersas partes del mundo auídos* (15), recounts his wanderings in remote lands before he settled down as *regidor* of Córdoba. Simplicity was not the foible of Pedro de Corral, who, about 1443, compiled the *Coronica Sarrazyna*. Corral professed to write serious history based on the records of two (purely imaginary) chroniclers of Rodrigo's times, and in truth Corral began by consulting genuine historical sources. Wearying of investigation, he lent variety to his subject by interpolating fables from the *Cronica Troyana* (16), and finally packed his text with so many inventions that his pretended history may almost be described as a chivalresque novel. Feliciano de Silva likewise called one of his novels by a name which might mislead people into thinking the book was history: *La coronica de los muy valientes y esforçados e inuencibles caualleros don Florisel de Niquea y el fuerte Anaxartes*. As a prelude to early chivalresque novels should be mentioned the *Passo Honroso defendido por el excelente cauallero Suero de Quiñones* (17). Suero de Quiñones was a relative of the Lope de Stuniga after whom a *Cancionero* (18) is named. The *Passo Honroso* was written by a notary named Pedro Rodriguez de Lena, and it exists in a form abridged about a century later (1585) by Juan de Pineda.

Though Juan Rodriguez de la Cámara (19) contributed to Baena's anthology and perhaps shares with Carvajal the distinction of being one of the first Spanish poets to sign a *romance*, he survives as a novelist in *El Siervo libre de Amor*, a sentimental autobiographical tale written about 1440. If Rodriguez de la Cámara (also called, from his birthplace, Rodriguez del Padron) really wrote *Rosa florida*, *La Infantina*, and *El Conde Arnaldos*, we should have to admit that he was

a most delightful poet, ill represented by the verses scattered up and down his prose works. Of those, *El Siervo libre de Amor*, despite its outbursts of gush and stilted eloquence, has intrinsic value ; the *Triunfo de las donas* presents the opposite view to that taken by the Archpriest of Talavera, Alfonso Martinez de Toledo, in a work now entitled, as the author wished it to be, *El Arcipreste de Talavera* (20). Martinez de Toledo does in prose something of what Ruiz did in verse. He has not his predecessor's creative force and picaresque gaiety. But he abounds in saturnine wit, embellishes his diatribe against women with proverbs and popular sayings, and excels in malignant invective. Academic prose is supplied at this period by Alfonso de la Torre, who in his *Vision deletable de la philosophia e de las otras sciençias* (21) draws material for his encyclopaedic compilation from sources as distinct as St. Isidore of Seville and Al-Ghazâlî.

Other estimable prose-writers are, according to Lorenzo Galindez de Carvajal (1472-1527 ?), the authors of the *Cronica del serenissimo rey don Juan el segundo deste nombre* (22). Possibly Alvar Garcia de Santa Maria may have really written this book ; at any rate he is a likely claimant, and to him also is ascribed *La Coronica de don Alvaro de Luna, condestable de los reynos de Castilla y Leon* (23).

Many of the innumerable poets who flourished late in John II's reign lived on till the time of Henry IV and later. Among these were the Catholic Jew, Anton de Montoro (24) (1404 ?-1480 ?), an old-clothes-man of Córdoba, whose virulent wit bespattered contemporaries ; Montoro's verse becomes touched with dignity in his denunciation of the persecution of his fellow-Jews in 1474 ; the Se villan Pedro Guillen de Segovia (25) (1413-1474 ?), author of *Los salmos penitenciales*, made a premature attempt to lend Castilian verse a Biblical savour ; Juan Alvarez Gato (26) (1430 ?-1496 ?), an artist despite his simple measures ; and Gomez Manrique (27) (1415 ?-1490 ?), who, long eclipsed by the vast renown of his nephew, now ranks prominently as a pioneer in the drama. The discords which disgraced the periods of John II and Henry IV gave opportunities to anonymous satires. The sprightly *Coplas de ay Panadera* (28) belong to John II's reign. The obscene *Coplas del Provincial* (29) must be assigned to the reign of Henry IV. So, also, must the *Coplas de Mingo*

Revolgo (30), a more genuine specimen of political satire in which Gil Arebato speaks for the upper class and reproves Mingo Revolgo, the incarnation of the people. The *Coplas del Provincial* shows too intimate an acquaintance with scandals about the great to be ascribed to any one but a hanger-on at court; in the *Coplas de Mingo Revolgo* a literary man perhaps tries to mimic the thought and intonation of the populace.

A most correct prose-writer was Juan de Lucena (d. 1506), whose *Libro de Vida beata* (31), composed in 1463, is an adaptation of the *Dialogus de felicitate vitae* of the Italian humanist Bartolommeo Fazio (d. 1457?). More flamboyant in style are the *Epistolae* (32) of Diego de Valera (1412-1487), a swaggering adventurer who also wrote a summary based on the *Cronica General*—an abridgement called the *Valeriana* (1414), after its author—and the *Memorial de hazañas* (33), which records the events of Henry IV's time. The semi-official *Cronica del rey Don Enrique el Quarto* (34) is by Diego Enriquez del Castillo (1433-1504), a shrewd observer though a timid time-server. A harsher view of Henry IV's character (or lack of character) is taken by the industrious Latinist Alfonso de Palencia (35) (1423-1492) in his *Gesta hispaniensia ex annalibus suorum dierum*, the original of which is mostly unpublished; though, or perhaps because, the author had been one of Henry IV's secretaries, he inveighs so vehemently against his former employer as almost to rouse sympathy for that abject creature. In his *Gesta* Palencia displays a crude force scarcely maintained in *La guerra y batalla campal de los perros contra los lobos* (1456) and in his *Tratado de la perfección del Triunfo militar*. Palencia's Castilian prose is spoilt by Latinisms, but in the *Tratado* he recaptures something of his natural *brio*.

The most eminent individual poet during the reign of the 'Catholic Kings' (a title not bestowed, however, on Ferdinand and Isabel by Pope Alexander VI till 1494) was Jorge Manrique (1440?-1479), who fell in action. The fame of this soldier derives from a single poem: the *Coplas de Jorge Manrique por la muerte de su padre* (36), written about 1476. This poem, written in verses of *pie quebrado*, is a wonder of execution. Nothing could be more obvious than Jorge Manrique's reflections on the precariousness of human plans, the ephemeral nature of existence, the stealthy might of death which destroys

all but the memory of valorous virtue. On these worn themes Jorge Manrique can of course say nothing new, but he enshrines his sublime commonplaces in a form so perfect that he becomes, for the moment, the spokesman of bereaved humanity. Impregnated with a poignant sincerity, his forty stanzas have been imitated by Camões, glossed by Silvestre, twice glossed by Montemayor, lauded by Luis de Leon and Lope de Vega, and are known by heart wherever Spanish is spoken. No more enduring triumph has been attained by any Spanish poet.

It was at once perceived that Jorge Manrique had produced a marvel, but Spaniards did not hurry their attempts to follow his example. With the accession of Ferdinand and Isabel in 1474 coincides the introduction into Spain of printing, and to printing the preservation of the old *romances* (37) is in great part due. A *romance* was originally any work written in the vernacular; gradually it came to mean a lyrico-narrative poem in lines of sixteen syllables with the same assonance maintained throughout. This is the typical form of an 'old' *romance*, though in later times *romances* were written in lines of eight syllables (the even-numbered lines alone being assonanced). The oldest *romances*, probably fragments of ancient epics, seem to belong in their actual form to the fifteenth century, but the fact that most of these compositions are anonymous makes it difficult to determine their chronology precisely. We can only draw approximate conclusions: thus *Alburquerque*, *Alburquerque*, which passes for a very ancient *romance*, cannot be earlier than 1430, when Alburquerque was besieged by Álvaro de Luna. Few old *romances* are signed, and the dates of these few are conjectural: the three which bear the name of Rodriguez de la Cámara are assigned to about 1440, while the two signed by Carvajal belong to the same period. Speaking generally, the oldest *romances* are found in the *Cancionero general* (38) (1511) of Hernando del Castillo, in the later (but undated) *Cancionero* (39) of Juan Fernandez de Costantina, and in undated broadsides. In the middle of the fifteenth century the *romance* form was not yet an accepted mode in literary circles and was depreciatingly mentioned by Santillana in his letter to Dom Pedro (40), constable of Portugal (1429-1466) and an imitator of Mena. Within a century the *romances* made their way in the world. Excellent specimens by a certain

'Caballero Cesáreo' (plausibly identified with Pero Mexia) are found in Lorenzo de Sepúlveda's *Quarenta cantos de diversas y peregrinas historias* (41) (1550), and the *Romancero general* (42) (1600-1605) shows that, fifty years later, prominent poets had felt the charm of popular versification. Here, however, we are concerned with the less sophisticated specimens of primitive poetry, some of which have been assimilated into universal literature.

Most of the *romances* on King Roderick, based either on Corral's *Cronica* or on an equally apocryphal history forged towards the end of the sixteenth century by a *morisco* called Miguel de Luna, may be dismissed as modern; two of these *romances* have become famous, because one is quoted in *Don Quixote* and a line from the other is embedded in one of Victor Hugo's *Orientales*. Bernardo del Carpio likewise failed to stir the popular poets; only one of the *romances* on him—*Con cartas y mensajeros*—is admittedly ancient. Fernan Gonzalez is the theme of three 'old' *romances*: *Castellanos y leoneses*, *Buen Conde Fernan Gonzalez*, and *Por los palacios del rey* (still surviving in Asturias, as part of *La Peregrina*). The savage beauty of the legend of the *Infantes de Lara* struck the imagination of the *juglares* more forcibly; of several old *romances* on this subject one, *A cazar va don Rodrigo*, owes a fresh spell of life to the fact that it has been superbly transmuted by Victor Hugo in the thirtieth of his *Orientales*. The numerous *romances* on the Cid vary greatly in quality. Few are old and some of the best known—not the oldest by any means—owe their vogue to recasts by great artists like Théophile Gautier and Leconte de Lisle, who in *Le Cid et le Juif* and *L'Accident de don Iñigo* have re-vitalized *En Sant Pedro de Cardena* and the forcible *Cabalga Diego Lainez* respectively. *Romances* on episodes of Spanish history are of an interest too local to make a wide appeal; yet one composition of this group—once uncritically ascribed to Alfonso X—is 'old' enough to deserve mention. The sinister pathos of at least one *romance* on Peter the Cruel manifestly impressed Leconte de Lisle; but few poems of this group are of popular inspiration, since during Peter's lifetime *juglares* anxious to keep their heads on their shoulders were prudently silent concerning him. Special interest attaches to the *romances fronterizos* (border-ballads), two or three of which are said to derive from

Arabic originals, or to have been pieced together by a *moro latinado*. The *romances fronterizos* have an elusive charm which Bishop Percy, Byron, and Chateaubriand have all failed to reproduce. Though themes relating to foreign (or half-foreign) history would scarcely appeal to popular poets, there are a few admirable specimens of such *romances*, one of which, believed to be written by a private soldier, has been adequately Englished by John Hookham Frere. Readers of *Don Quixote* know the Carolingian cycle of *romances* through Cervantes's quotations; these are not really 'old' but their popularity follows from Bernal Diaz del Castillo's (43) description of their being quoted by Cortes's soldiers to their chief. As the Round-Table story reached Spain comparatively late, and never took deep root there, it is not surprising that but three of the Arthurian *romances* can be classified as 'old'. On the other hand, the group of miscellaneous, imaginative, or chivalresque *romances* has always been widely popular. Cervantes was not straining probability when he made the innkeeper cap Don Quixote's quotation of *Mis arreos son las armas*, and, in our own day, the late Mr. Flecker's capital version of *El Conde Arnaldos* has come near grafting an exotic and mystic poem on the splendid trunk of English literature.

While a tendency to use popular forms of verse manifested itself in devout writers like Isabel's favourite, the Franciscan Iñigo de Mendoza (44), whose *Cancionero* appeared in about 1480, and like Bishop Ambrosio Montesino (45) (an undoubted writer of *romances*), more elaborate influences affected the crazy Garci Sanchez de Badajoz (46) (1460 ?-1526 ?), who excelled in penning *redondillas* and was likewise an imitator of Mena and of Dante. Mena and Dante were also used as models by the Carthusian Juan de Padilla (1468-1522 ?), whose most ambitious attempt—a pedantic allegory entitled *Los doze triumphos de los doze Apostoles* (47)—was not printed till 1521. One or two poets survive by virtue of a single successful effort: the Valencian Joan Escrivá (48), author of a most famous song—*Ven, muerte, tan escondida*—and Rodrigo Cota de Maguaque, a worthless Jew convert who imparted a dramatic flavour to the masterly *Diálogo entre el amor y un viejo* (49). Cota, who died before 1495, has left little to represent him in literary history; yet he clearly had an immense

contemporary reputation, for before long it became customary to ascribe to him (or to Mena) anonymous works of unusual merit. Another Jew, Diego de San Pedro, won distinction less by his verses than by a novel, the *Carcel de Amor* (50) (1492), the vogue of which was not arrested by the condemnation of the Inquisition. The *Carcel de Amor* in an English version (made by Lord Berners through the French) has been wrongly regarded as the starting-point of Euphuism.

Mena and Cota are improbably alleged to have had some part in writing the famous *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea* (51) (1499), perhaps best known since 1519 as *La Celestina*, from the name of a prominent character in the book. We cannot here discuss the controversial questions concerning the text and authorship of the work. Suffice it to say that the sixteen acts of the first edition—increased later to twenty-one acts (and in three editions to twenty-two acts)—are probably by Fernando de Rojas (1475 ?–1536 ?), a converted Jew who became *alcalde mayor* of Talavera. Though the *Comedia* is divided into scenes, it is too long for the stage and may perhaps, despite its title, be regarded as a novel. It paints the loves of Calisto and Melibea, the intervention of the cunning Celestina, and the accidental death of Calisto, followed by the suicide of Melibea. Rojas, or whoever wrote the *Comedia*, was not above borrowing a hint from a predecessor. The suicide of Melibea was perhaps suggested by the *Carcel de Amor* of the Jew Diego de San Pedro; Celestina and the two lovers are developed from characters in the *Libro de buen amor*. The whole is set in a vivid atmosphere: there are striking scenes from low life, observed at first-hand and described with sombre power. But all the personages are memorable. The *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea* was the earliest Spanish book to go the round of the world, and its combination of passion with pessimism left it in fashion for about a century.

Its valiant realism, ennobled by emotion, has worn better than the idealistic picture of life given in *Los quatro libros del virtuoso cauallero Amadis de Gaula* (52), a work once celebrated which may as well be mentioned here as later; for, though the oldest-known Spanish edition (represented by a single copy, now in the British Museum) is dated 1508, this tale of love and adventure was doubtless read in Spain much earlier. This is plain from the references made to it by Pero Ferrandes

and Lopez de Ayala. Possibly at that stage the text bore traces of Portuguese or French *provenance* more obvious than any discernible in the extant four books. Garci Rodriguez de Montalvo, *regidor* of Medina del Campo, professes to have edited the first three books and to have written the fourth only. The story records the loves of Amadis, natural son of King Perion, and Oriana, daughter of Lisuarte, King of Britain. Amadis is the model knight, as faithful to his lord as to his lady. He is not flawless; he has the defects of Tristram, who went before him, and of Don Quixote, who came after him. If we except Don Brian de Monjaste, few of the characters are Spaniards; the scene is not laid in Spain; 'Gaula' is sometimes Wales, and is sometimes France. There is abundance of the marvellous as in the tales of the Round Table. The exposition is clear and readable. *Amadis de Gaula*, be its origin Portuguese or French, exists only in Spanish. It set a fashion: all later Spanish writers of books of chivalry adopted the machinery of *Amadis de Gaula*. Later knights were not less brave (they could not be braver) than Amadis; heroines were not less lovely (they could not be lovelier) than Oriana; there was nothing for it but to make the dragons more appalling, the giants larger, the wizards craftier, the magic castles more inaccessible, the enchanted lakes deeper. Subsequent books of chivalry are simple variants of the types in *Amadis de Gaula*: Cervantes made his barber describe it as 'the best of all books of this kind'. This verdict is essentially just. *Amadis de Gaula* was read everywhere, especially in the French version of Herberay des Essarts. It was done into Hebrew during the sixteenth century, and attracted readers as different as St. Ignatius of Loyola and Henry of Navarre. Its vogue perhaps somewhat exceeded its merit, but its merits are not inconsiderable.

The talent of Hernando del Pulgar (1436?–1493?) is seen to advantage in his *Libro de los claros varones de Castilla* (53) (1486), which includes portraits almost as incisive as those of Perez de Guzman; Pulgar's chronicle of the Catholic kings was not printed till 1556: it is inferior to the *Claros varones* in penetration and critical insight. Columbus—Cristóbal Colon (54) (1451?–1506) in Spanish—is not wholly sympathetic as a man and as a writer; but in certain apocalyptic passages he conveys some impression of the force which enabled

him to work wonders. He was personally known to Andrés Bernaldez, who writes of him with intelligence in his *Historia de los reyes catolicos don Fernando y doña Isabel* (55), a work which remained unpublished till 1856 and is more remarkable for its adulatory tone than for its literary skill.

EDITIONS, &c.

(1) Ed. F. de Gayangos, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LI; ed. G. T. Northup, Chicago, 1908, in *Modern Philology*, Vol. V, pp. 477-554. (2) Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LI: ed. A. Morel-Fatio in *Romania* (1878), Vol. VII, pp. 481-526. (3) Ed. M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos*, Vol. V, pp. 3-17. (4) *Obras*, ed. J. Amador de los Ríos, Madrid, 1852; *Cancionero*, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc in *Cancionero castellano del siglo XV*, I; Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XIX; Clásicos Castellanos (Madrid, 1913, ed. V. García de Diego). (5) *Sonetos*, ed. B. J. Gallardo, *Ensayo* &c., Vol. I, col. 535-536. (6) Ed. P. J. Pidal, Madrid, 1851; ed. Fr. Michel, Leipzig, 1860, 2 vols. (7) *Canciones*, &c., ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc in *Cancionero castellano del siglo XV*, II; Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXII, pp. 401-619. (8) Ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, Barcelona, 1907. (9) *Cancionero*, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Cancionero castellano del siglo XV*, I; Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XIX, pp. 120-221. (10) Ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, Mâcon, 1904. (11) Ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, Mâcon, 1907; Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXVIII. (12) Ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Revue hispanique* (1913), Vol. XXVIII, pp. 442-622. (13) *Vida y hazañas del gran Tamorlan*, ed. E. de Llaguno y Amírola, Madrid, 1782. (14) *Crónica de Don Pedro Niño, Conde de Buelna*, ed. E. de Llaguno y Amírola, Madrid, 1782; the French translation by A. de Circourt y Th. de Puymaigre, *Le Victorial*, Paris, 1867, contains the passages omitted in the Spanish edition of 1782. (15) *Andanças e viajes* (*Col. de libros raros o curiosos*, Vol. VIII, 1874). (16) Ed. M. R. Rodríguez, La Coruña, 1900, 2 vols. (17) Salamanca, 1588 [facsimile by A. M. Huntington, New York, 1902]; ed. Real Academia de la Historia, 1783. (18) Ed. marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle y J. Sancho Rayón (*Colección de libros esp. raros o curiosos*, Vol. IV, 1872). (19) *Obras*, ed. A. Paz y Mélia, Soc. de biblióf. españoles, 1884, 2 vols.; *Lieder des Juan Rodríguez del Padron*, ed. H. A. Rennert, in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* (1893), Vol. XVII, pp. 544-558. (20) Ed. C. Pérez Pastor, Soc. de biblióf. españoles, 1901. (21) *Vision delectable de la filosofía y artes liberales, metafísica y filosofía moral*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXXVI. (22) *Crónica del señor rey don Juan, segundo de este nombre*, Valencia, 1779. (23) *Colección de Crónicas*, Madrid, 1784, Vol. V. (24) *Cancionero*, ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori, Madrid, 1900. (25) *Coplas*, in *Cancionero general de Hernando del Castillo* (ed. Soc. de biblióf. españoles, 1882); *Poestas*, ed. H. R. Lang (in the press). (26) *Cancionero*, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Cancionero castellano del siglo XV*, 1912, Vol. I, pp. 222-269 (Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XIX); *Cancionero inédito*, ed. E. Cotarelo, Madrid, 1901. (27) *Cancionero*, ed. A. Paz y Mélia, Madrid, 1885, 2 vols.; Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXII, pp. 4-154; ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Cancionero castellano*

- del siglo XV, II. (28) Ed. B. J. Gallardo, *Ensayo &c.*, Vol. I, col. 613-617. (29) Ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Revue hispanique* (1898), Vol. V, pp. 255-266. (30) Ed. B. J. Gallardo, *Ensayo &c.*, Vol. I, col. 823-853; ed. M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos, &c.*, Vol. III, pp. 5-20. (31) Ed. A. Paz y Mélia, in *Opúsculos literarios de los siglos XIV a XVI* (Soc. de biblióf. españoles, 1892), pp. 209-220. (32) Ed. J. A. de Balenchana, Soc. de biblióf. españoles, Madrid, 1878. (33) Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXX. (34) Ed. J. M. Flores, Madrid, 1787, Vol. VI; Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXX. (35) *Dos tratados*, ed. A. M. Fabié in *Libros de antaño*, Vol. V; *Crónica de Enrique IV*, Spanish translation by A. Paz y Mélia, Madrid, 1904-1912. (36) Ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, Madrid, 1912; Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXII, pp. 228-256. (37) *Primavera y Flor de romances*, ed. F. J. Wolf and C. Hofman, Berlin, 1856; reprinted with additions by M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos, &c.*, Vols. VII-X; *Romancero general o Colección de romances castellanos anteriores al siglo XVIII*, ed. A. Durán, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vols. X and XVI; *Cancionero de romances*, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1914; *Romancero general* [facsimile of the 1600 edition by Archer M. Huntington], New York, 1904; *Cien Romances escogidos*, ed. A. G. Solalinde, Madrid, undated; *Spanish Ballads*, ed. by G. le Strange, Cambridge, 1920. (38) Ed. Soc. de biblióf. españoles, 1882, 2 vols.; facsimile of the 1520 edition by A. M. Huntington, New York, 1904. (39) Ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, Soc. de biblióf. mad. XI, Madrid, 1914. (40) *Coplas*, in *Cancioneiro de Resende*; *Satira de felice e infelice vida*, ed. A. Paz y Mélia, in *Opúsculos literarios de los siglos XIV a XVI*, Soc. de biblióf. españoles, 1892. (41) *Romances nuevamente sacados de historias antiguas de la cronica de España, &c.* [facsimile of the 1551 edition by A. M. Huntington], New York, 1903. (42) See n. 37. (43) *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, ed. Genaro García, Mexico, 1904-1905, 2 vols. (44) Ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Cancionero castellano del siglo XV*, I; Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp., XIX, pp. 1-120. (45) *Cancionero de diversas obras de nuevo trovadas, &c.*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXXV. (46) *Obras*, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Cancionero castellano del siglo XV*, 1915, II; Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXII, pp. 624-654. (47) Ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Cancionero castellano del siglo XV*, I; Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XIX. (48) See *Cancionero general de Hernando del Castillo*, ed. Soc. de biblióf. españoles, 1882, 2 vols. (49) Biblioteca Oropesa, Vol. IV; *Cancionero general de Hernando del Castillo*, ed. Soc. de biblióf. españoles, 1882, 2 vols., pp. 299-308. (50) Ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Bibliotheca hispanica*, Vol. XV; Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. VII. (51) Ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Bibliotheca hispanica* (1900), Vol. I; ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Bibliotheca hispanica* (1902), Vol. XII. (52) Ed. P. de Gayangos, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XL. (53) Ed. E. de Llaguno y Amirola, Madrid, 1775; *Crónica de los señores Reyes Católicos*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXX. (54) *Autógrafos de C. Colón y papeles de América*, ed. Duquesa de Alba, Madrid, 1892. (55) Ed. F. de Gabriel Ruiz de Apodaca, Soc. de biblióf. andaluces, 1870, 2 vols.; Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXX.

CHAPTER IV

THE MIDDLE RENAISSANCE

TOWARDS the end of the fifteenth century the humanistic spirit spread rapidly. Many of the classics were translated, and in 1490 and 1492 respectively, Latin dictionaries were issued by Palencia and also by Antonio de Lebrixa (1442 ?-1522), the most illustrious Spanish scholar of his time. Palencia and Lebrixa studied in Italy; in this respect their example was followed, and these visits promoted interest in Italian literature. Boccaccio was done into Spanish as the fifteenth century closed; Dante and Petrarch were similarly translated as the sixteenth century opened. A new phase begins with the accession of Charles V in 1516, and lasts till the death of Philip IV in 1665. This is the so-called 'Golden Age' of Spanish literature: Spain's greatest masterpieces in the drama, in poetry, and in fiction are crowded into this century and a half.

There is a long apparent pause between the *Auto de los Reyes Magos* (1) and the rudimentary plays of Gomez Manrique: *La representacion del Nacimiento de Nuestro Señor* and the [*Lamentaciones*] *fechas para Semana Santa* (2). These two pieces are assigned to about the middle of the fifteenth century; some twenty years later Gomez Manrique also wrote a *momo* in honour of the fourteenth birthday of the Infante Alfonso, brother of the future Queen Isabel. The pause between the *Auto de los Reyes Magos* and the productions of Gomez Manrique seems long, and is long so far as the written record goes; but appearances are deceptive in this case, and, apart from the fact that the intrinsic possibilities are against the complete extinction of a whole *genre*, there are legal enactments against stage abuses in the thirteenth century. It is true that the record of the fourteenth century appears to be a blank, but the record may be defective and a hundred years is a relatively short period in a nation's literary life.

Gomez Manrique was not alone in his dramatic essays. Other plays were attempted by his younger contemporary, Juan del Enzina (3) (1469-1529), a precocious and versatile

musician who, while serving the Duke of Alba, wrote a series of plays, some of them devout, and some of them cast according to a realistic pastoral formula. In these pieces the verses were alternately sung and recited. Such *representaciones* are printed in Enzina's *Cancionero* (1496), together with imitations of Virgil and a body of miscellaneous verse. Enzina's allegories, and even his lyrics, have not the interest of his dramatic essays, further examples of which are given in the later editions of his *Cancionero*. His frequent visits to Italy supplied him with themes: thus *Fileno, Zambardo e Cardonio* derives from an eclogue by Antonio Tebaldeo, and the *Egloga . . . en la qual se introducen dos enamorados, llamada ella Plácida y el Vitoriano*, which was performed in Rome before a motley audience, shows signs of Italian influence. Enzina, who developed both the sacred and the lay elements even in his pastoral pieces, is often called 'the patriarch of the Spanish theatre'; he seems at any rate to have been the earliest professional dramatist in Spain. He finally took orders and died at Leon, where he was prior. He appears not to have written plays in his later years.

Another Spanish dramatist who resided in Italy was Bartolomé de Torres Naharro (4) (d. 1531?), once a soldier, and later a prisoner in Algiers, before he entered the Church. Removing from Rome to Naples, he issued his works under the title of *Propaladia* (1517). His poems are less noticeable than his plays, which he groups into two main classes—*comedias a noticia* (realistic pieces) and *comedias a fantasia* (romantic dramas). Since the latter adumbrate the 'cloak and sword' plays, Torres Naharro may be said to have anticipated an especially Spanish form of drama. But he is not content to lay down dramaturgical principles. More daring than Enzina, whom he studied closely, he presents many more personages—perhaps too many in the *Comedia Tinelaria*. He draws individual character with a sure hand; endowed with a pronounced scenic sense, he conducts a more complicated plot with notable adroitness. He was well suited to found a dramatic school, and as his *Propaladia* was reprinted several times in Spain, he was presumably much read there. But his direct imitators are fewer than might be expected. Possibly the material development of the Spanish stage was too restricted to meet his demands on it.

The fact that Tapia and Berthomeu Gentil wrote in Italian is significant of the progress of Italian among Spaniards. Not less significant is the fact that Benedetto Gareth (1450 ?-1514) wrote his *Rime* (1506) in Italian. On the other hand, the publication of the anonymous novel, *Question de Amor de dos enamorados* (5) (1513), and of a dull epic, the *Historia Parthenopea* (1514) by Alonso Hernandez, implies the existence of a public in Italy eager to read Spanish. This public would include descendants of Jews expelled from Spain in 1492. Some such Jews would be able to understand Spanish, though few were rash enough to write in it. A case in point is that of Judas Abrabanel (1460 ?-1520 ?), whose *Dialoghi di Amore* (1535) are redolent of Spanish mysticism, though this trait is not specially noted by Montaigne in 'Léon Hébreu', as Abrabanel was called in France. Propinquity and political dominance combined to establish the vogue of Spanish in Portugal, especially from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. Spanish was much used by the dramatist Gil Vicente (6), a far greater poet than either Enzina or Torres Naharro. Of forty-three extant plays by Vicente, twelve are in Portuguese; the rest are in Spanish or in a conventional mixture of Spanish and Portuguese. Data concerning Vicente are few; the times of his birth and of his death are uncertain: he is guessed to have been born between 1452 and 1475, and to have died between the second half of 1536 and 16th April 1540. His personal relations with Erasmus are conjectural, but he was apparently touched with the Erasmian spirit. As a playwright he began in 1502 with the *Monologo da Visitação*, a piece manifestly written in imitation of Enzina, whose influence also pervades the *Auto pastoril castelhano* (1502), the *Auto dos Reis Magos* (1503), and the *Auto da Sibilla Cassandra* (1513), which contains one of Vicente's most entrancing songs. As a dramatist, Vicente outdoes Enzina; in scenic dexterity, he falls short of Torres Naharro. He outvies them both in lyrical spontaneity, and upon Vicente's imaginative invention Lope de Vega drew in *El Viaje del Alma*, and Calderon in *El Lirio y la Azucena*.

Minor dramatists of this period were Hernan Lopez de Yanguas (1461 ?-1518 ?), who in the *Farsa sacramental en coplas* (7) (1520) seems to have anticipated Calderon in the practice of a *genre* which that great master raised to a sublime height;

Agustin Ortiz in the *Comedia Radiana* (8) (1534) and Micael de Carvajal in the *Tragedia llamada Josephina* (9) (1535), both accounted followers of Torres Naharro; and Diego Sanchez de Badajoz, who in his *Recopilacion en metro* (10) (1554) reproduced with some perverted exaggerations Vicente's graceful fantasies. Of playwrights such as Francisco de las Natas, Jayme de Güete, and Vasco Diaz Tanco few plays are accessible. Francisco de Avendaño is commonly mentioned at about this point as having in his *Comedia Florisea* (11) (1551) reduced the number of acts in a play to three. Since this mechanical innovation is found earlier in the *Auto de Clarindo* (12) (1535 ?) and since Avendaño lacks other merits, he is even less important than the Segovian shearer, Juan de Pedraza (13), and than Bartolomé Palau (b. 1525 ?), of Burbáguena (Teruel), whose *Victoria de Christo* (14) continued to be played in country districts down to about the middle of the last century.

Torres Naharro wrote for popes and prelates; Vicente for royal audiences, Enzina for nobles. Their immediate followers made an appeal almost as restricted. The theatre was placed on a popular basis by Lope de Rueda (15) (1510 ?-1565), a Seville metal-beater who, throwing up his trade, perhaps began his dramatic initiation by joining a company of Italian strollers. Many of his formal plays, such as his *Comedia llamada Medora*, are adaptations from third-rate Italians, and the composition of those pieces may have been a concession to the taste of his companions. Cervantes esteemed Rueda as a writer of verse, and the meagre specimens of Rueda's pastoral verse now extant go to confirm Cervantes's opinion. But Rueda was essentially a humorist; prose was his natural vehicle, and his best work is embodied in short comic prose pieces known as *pasos*. The primitive crude wit of these *pasos* diverts the spectator, while it concentrates light on the character of the personages who are exhibited in some simple, absurd situation. Rueda's prose bespeaks a careful study of *Calisto y Melibea*, from which he may have borrowed hints destined to lead to the more elaborate development of the *gracioso*, a type but vaguely foreshadowed in the earlier work. A man of the people, he went down into the streets, set up his booth there, and contrived to captivate the masses. Rueda's title to fame is that he converted the

Spanish theatre from an aristocratic toy into a national institution.

Though Sebastian de Horozco (16) (1510?–1580) may have taken suggestions from Rueda, he is not to be regarded as a mere imitator. Until the exact dates are determined of Andrés de Prado, author of the *Farsa llamada Cornelia* (17), and of Diego de Negueruela, who wrote the *Farsa llamada Ardamisa* (18), neither of these playwrights can be placed in relation with Rueda. As Rueda's successor, Cervantes names Navarro (or Naharro), who is represented by a late reprint (1603) of a single play, *La Marquesa de Saluzia, llamada Griselda* (19). This shows few signs of Rueda's influence, except in so far that it is versified from Boccaccio. This imitation of Italians may be part of a general tendency, for which Rueda has no direct responsibility. He can hardly be held accountable for the Italianate source (as is thought) of Luis de Miranda in the *Comedia Prodigia* (20), nor, perhaps, for the Italian provenance of the *Comedia llamada de Sepulveda* (21). He may, however, have suggestionized Alonso de la Vega (22) (d. 1565?) and Joan Timoneda (23) (d. 1583), both of whom follow his example in utilizing secondary Italians. But the potency of Italian influence is evident in other literary fields than the drama.

It is at the root of the verse reforms promoted by Juan Boscan (24) (d. 1542) and Garcilasso de la Vega (25) (1503–1536). Boscan and Garcilasso had begun with verses written in the old Castilian measures (26). A chance encounter at Granada in the summer of 1526 with Andrea Navagiero, the Venetian ambassador, gave Boscan the initial impulse. As a result, succeeding where Santillana had failed, Boscan acclimatized in Spain the Italian measures. He owed much to the encouragement of Garcilasso, to whom we are indebted for the sole book issued by Boscan: a prose version (1534) of Castiglione's *Cortegiano*. Boscan, though a competent prose-writer, owes his reputation to a posthumous volume of verses: *Las obras de Boscan y algunas de Garcilasso de la Vega repartidas en quatro libros* (1543). The fourth book contains the verses of Garcilasso, a gifted soldier who fell at Muy during the Provençal campaign of Charles V. For many years the verses of both poets were almost always published together. This implies similarity of aim: not equality of natural endow-

ment. Garcilasso was an Italianate by temperament as well as by circumstance. A friend of the great Duke of Alba, whose tutor Boscan had been, Garcilasso spent the last years of his life at Naples under the orders of Alba's uncle, the Marqués de Villafranca. A friend of Bembo's, Garcilasso, incarnated the Renaissance spirit, and his stay at Naples enlarged his Italian sympathies. Where Boscan's persevering talent gained ground slowly, Garcilasso's genius carried all before it. By their combined efforts, Boscan and Garcilasso contrived to transplant to Spain the chief Italian forms—the sonnet, the song, the ode, and especially the combination of heptasyllabics and hendecasyllabics generally known as *liras* (so called from the first noun in Garcilasso's *Cancion de Gnido*). This combination was really invented by Bernardo Tasso, whose priority was long overlooked. Boscan and Garcilasso failed to naturalize in Spain blank verse: that was not done till later. But such checks are relatively few with them, while their triumph was immediate, and has proved enduring.

Their first important convert was Francisco Sá de Miranda (26) (1489?–1558), a Portuguese who wrote much in Spanish, and who displayed Italian tendencies before any Italianate verse by Boscan or by Garcilasso was handed about in manuscript. After 1534, when such circulation occurred, these Italian tendencies became more marked; Sá de Miranda acknowledged Garcilasso's supremacy, and bewailed the death of this Spanish poet in a Spanish elegy (*Nemoroso*). Not less important was the conversion of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (27) (1503–1575), distinguished as a diplomatist, a soldier, a poet, an historian, and a scholar. After fighting at Tunis (1535), he acted as ambassador in England, the Low Countries, Venice, and Trent. Either owing to collisions with Pope Julius III, whose spirit was as haughty as his own, or because of his high-handed methods as Governor of Siena, Mendoza's career as a diplomatist ended in 1554. At Venice he had continued to add to his collection of Greek manuscripts, on three of which the earliest Greek text (1544) of Josephus was based. At Trent, his industry edified professional scholars. Mendoza's talent had a picturesque bent which found adequate expression in his *redondillas*, admired by so sound a judge as Lope de Vega. The *Fabula de Adonis*,

Hipomenes y Atalanta remains to prove Mendoza's adherence to the innovators; he never quite acquired the technique of the new school, and the Italianate methods lent themselves ill to his humoristic sallies; but his desertion of metres in which he excelled for novelties that he failed to master, testifies to the complete triumph won by Boscan and Garcilasso. We shall meet Mendoza again as a prose-writer; his friend, Gutierre de Cetina (28) (1518 ?-1559 ?), perhaps carried the Italianate reforms from the Old to the New World. Cetina seems to have died from wounds accidentally received in a midnight brawl at Los Angeles. He is best known as the author of the famous madrigal, *Ojos claros, serenos*; many of his other poems have been traced to Italian sources, and he may be regarded mainly as an executant, superior to Mendoza in accomplishment, though inferior to him in originality. The half-Portuguese organist at Granada, Gregorio Silvestre (29) (1520-1569), adopted the new system because of its popularity, and possibly considerations of popularity weighed with Hernando de Acuña (30) (1522 ?-1586 ?), a soldier and courtier who apparently began in 1552 with *El Caballero determinado*, a version in double *quintillas* of Olivier de la Marche's allegory, *Le Chevalier délibéré*. Like all his school, Acuña had a turn for translation, rendered Boiardo in part, and in *La Contienda de Ajax Telamonio y de Vlises sobre las armas de Achilles* did a passage of Ovid into blank verse which he handled more dexterously than did the leaders of the school to which he had rallied. Acuña had a spice of humour, as appears in his parody of Garcilasso's *lira*. It is uncertain whether Gerónimo de Urrea (31) or Luis de Zapata (32) was the 'good knight and bad poet' at whose expense Acuña made merry. Not merely as a master of japes does Acuña shine: a clever society versifier, he could rise to an imposing dignity, as certain sonnets in his posthumous *Varias poesías* (1591) prove.

The reforms of Boscan and Garcilasso won the day, but they were not destined to win without a struggle. The most formidable opposition came from Cristóbal de Castillejo (33) (1490 ?-1550), a Carthusian in the service of the Infante Fernando, Charles V's brother. A valetudinarian, he spent most of his active life abroad, and is buried at Wiener-Neustadt. A secretary of Mendoza's in Italy, he did

not share his former master's tastes for the Italian metres. On the contrary, he is the author of a satirical sonnet in which he pillories Mendoza, Garcilasso, Boscan (and an obscure Captain Luis de Haro) as leading Italianates. He seems to have agreed that some reform was necessary, but argued that the desired end was not to be attained by a mere change of form. It is not certain that Castillejo was mistaken; it may be that the adoption of the Italian metres involved a certain loss of originality. At any rate, there is nothing strange in Castillejo's adhesion to the old school. He had been a successful practitioner in its metres since at least 1518; these metres well suited his diverting and mischievous individual talent; he was willing enough to borrow from modern Italians—from Navagiero himself, if Navagiero wrote in Latin; he was ready to adapt Catullus to his purposes, and it seems that he carried complaisance to the point of borrowing an idea from Petrarch. But the spirit of polite compromise takes him no further: though he could write if occasion needed in Portuguese he is inflexible as regards the Italian forms, and yet, as his works were not collected till 1573, his opposition proved ineffective. It is allowable to think that, despite his perverse contumacy, he was the truest poet of his age, and his insuccess was only relative, for though he failed to arrest the spread of Italian metres, the native measures flourished beside them and have never been extirpated.

Serious Spanish prose can show no name of this generation which is now on the same level as those of Garcilasso and Castillejo, but among the best prose-writers of the period is the doctor Francisco [Lopez] de Villalobos (34) (1473?–1549), a convert Jew who wrote agreeable letters and included in his *Libro titulado los Problemas* (1543) a *Tractado de las tres grandes*, which displays a faculty of witty observation. Villalobos had pretensions to scholarship, as appears from his translation of the *Amphitruo*. This same play of Plautus's was translated by Hernan Perez de Oliva (1494?–1533), to whom are due also some renderings of a play by Sophocles and a play by Euripides, which were not printed, however, till 1586. Perez de Oliva, who had studied abroad before becoming Rector of Salamanca, is best characterized by an unfinished *Didlogo de la dignidad del hombre* (35) (1546), which was issued with

an ending supplied by Francisco Cervantes de Salazar (36) (1514?-1575). The aim of this *Diálogo* was to vindicate the right of Castilian to be a vehicle for the treatment of serious subjects. This was likewise the object of Alexo Venegas (37) (1493?-1544) in his *Primera parte de las diferencias de libros que ay en el uniuerso* (1540). It was not to be supposed that the supremacy of Latin would vanish at these preliminary attacks; they merely indicate that its monopoly was threatened.

One of Charles V's chroniclers was the Asturian Antonio de Guevara (38) (1480?-1545), who successively filled the sees of Guadix (1528) and Mondoñedo (1537). Guevara won European fame as a novelist rather than a didactic writer: his *Relox de Principes* was really a rival to the tale of chivalry; it was first issued without the author's leave and was done into Armenian during the eighteenth century. Guevara was likewise recognized as a writer of good letters, though modern taste will agree with Montaigne in refusing to them the title of *Lettres dorées*.

Books of chivalry multiplied greatly during the reign of Charles V. We can only mention here two important series. *Amadis de Gaula* (39) was published with a fourth book by Garci Rodriguez de Montalvo. The success of *Amadis* encouraged Montalvo to produce a continuation: a fifth book, entitled *Las Sergas del muy esforçado cauallero Esplandian* (40) (1510?). In a sixth book the adventures of a nephew of Amadis were recounted by a Sevillian named Perez de Ribera, who entitled the work *Florisando, príncipe de Cantaria*. The seventh book of the *Amadis* series, *Los grandes fechos en armas de Lisuarte de Grecia fijo de Esplandian, y assi mesmo de los de Perion de Gaula* (1514), is almost certainly by Feliciano de Silva, at whom Cervantes poked fun. The eighth book of the series, *Lisuarte de Grecia* (1526), is by Juan Diaz, who took it on himself to kill off Amadis. This rash impertinence was resented by Silva, who resuscitated Amadis in the ninth book, the *Chronica del muy valiente y esforçado príncipe y Cauallero de la Ardiente Espada, Amadis de Grecia, hijo de Lisuarte de Grecia* (1530), wherein a promise of pastoralism is found. This seems to have been regarded as amounting to the bestowal on Silva of a sort of proprietary right in the rest of the *Amadis* series; at any rate he seems to be the author of the First and Second Parts (1532) of

Don Florisel de Niquea, which form the tenth book, and the Third and Fourth Parts (1535-1551) of the same story, which make the eleventh book of the series. The twelfth is *Don Silves de la Selva* (1540), which is ascribed to Pedro de Luxan, a Sevillian who is conjectured to have survived till 1575. Amadis preserved its vitality at least till the time of Handel, who made that paladin the hero of an opera.

The *Amadis* series was a good deal more popular as a whole than the *Palmerin* series, which begins with *El libro del famoso y muy esforçado cauallero Palmerin de Oliva* (1511) and *Primaleon y Polendos* (1512). Both books are said conjecturally to be the work of a woman; whether this woman was a Spaniard or a Portuguese is a matter of dispute. Whatever the author's nationality, sex, social position, or name (all matters of doubt), the books ascribed to him (or her) are more readable than the third work in this series, the anonymous *Cronica del muy valiente y esforzado caballero Plativ, hijo del emperador Primaleon* (1553). The best of all these continuations is the fourth book, a favourite with Edmund Burke: *Palmeirim de Inglaterra* (41). It was long supposed, on the strength of a preliminary acrostic, that the book was written in Spanish by Luis Hurtado (1530?-1579), a hack who appears to have completed the *Comedia Tibalda* (42) (1553), a dull pastoral by Perálvarez de Ayllon, and likewise to have finished Micael de Carvajal's *Auto de las Cortes de la Muerte* (43). Hurtado's Spanish version (1547-1548) appeared nearly twenty years before the earliest extant edition (1567) in Portuguese. Nevertheless, *Palmeirim de Inglaterra* shows a marked preference for life in Portugal over life in Spain, and in the Spanish version embodies Lusitanianisms, admissible enough on the part of a Spanish youth who had before him a Portuguese text. On the other hand, it is not to be supposed that Hurtado was capable of any really original work when he was sixteen. The better opinion is that *Palmeirim* was written in Portuguese about 1544 by Francisco de Moraes Cabral (1500?-1572), nicknamed *o Palmeirim* from his hero. Moraes introduced into his text the names of those ladies whom he had known in Paris. Cervantes may have had some inkling of the truth when he ascribed the book to a 'discreet King of Portugal', and suggested that it should be set apart as a unique thing.

Modern readers may share Samuel Johnson's view rather than Cervantes's. But Cervantes expresses contemporary opinion. Despite many denunciations, the craze for knight-errantries grew. The disease had to run its course: it ran far and wide, if a phrase in the *First Part of King Henry IV* be correctly interpreted to mean that Shakespeare knew something of the *Espejo de Principes y Caballeros* (1562-81-89), in which Diego Ortuñez de Calahorra, Pedro la Sierra, and Marcos Martinez successively took a hand. The genre died from degeneration. Before Ortuñez de Calahorra's edition of the *Espejo de Principes y Caballeros* was printed in 1562, an attempt to rejuvenate this type of book was made by Hieronym de Sempere, who in the *Libro de cavalleria celestial del pie de la Rosa Fragante* (1554) and in the *Segunda Parte de la cavalleria de las hojas de la Rosa Fragante* (1554) sought to apply the chivalresque formulae to devout purposes, introducing Christ as the Knight of the Lion, the Devil as the Knight of the Serpent, and so forth. Sempere's efforts were repeated somewhat less crudely by Jaime de Alcalá in the *Caballeria Christiana* (1570), and at a much later date by Alonso de Soria in the *Historia milicia christiana del Caballero Peregrino, Competidor del Cielo* (1601). But this brings us within sight of *Don Quixote*, which gave their death-blow to the languishing tales of knight-errantry.

The chivalresque stories had also to compete with the picaresque novel which began with an anonymous little work of genius: *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes* (44) (1554?). In this book are recounted the odious experiences of Lázaro in his office as servant to a succession of masters, for instance, to a blind man, a stingy priest, a starving gentleman, and a vendor of papal bulls. Where the books of chivalry are prolix, *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes* is short; the originality of its substance is open to question, for in one part at least it embodies a traditional anecdote; it may perhaps be significant that a boy called Lazarillo appears in a play by Horozco, and that *lazarillo* (applied to a leader of the blind) is found in Francisco Delicado's low work, *La loçana Andaluza* (45) (1528). But there is a fine insolent realism throughout, with which the witty observation of the unknown author is well matched. A conciseness of narrative faculty is combined with mordant cynicism, and in this

combination of great qualities *Lazarillo de Tormes* has few rivals.

For over forty years it had no successor. The transition from romantic invention to bald realism may have seemed too abrupt, and the heterodox savour of *Lazarillo de Tormes* may have retarded the book's vogue. A compromise was invented by Jorge de Montemayor (1520?–1561), a Portuguese who, following the example of his countryman, Bernardim Ribeiro, in *Menina e moça* (1554), wrote a pastoral novel entitled *Los siete libros de Diana* (46) (1559?). Though some pastoral notes were introduced into *Amadis de Grecia* by Feliciano de Silva, the knightly basis of the fiction is unaffected. Though *La Diana* may contain realistic hints, yet it belongs to an ineradicably artificial type of story. Its allusions to living persons are so deeply veiled as to be impenetrable; in its superfine landscapes particulars are omitted as essentially vulgar. Sireno is like Silvano, and neither of them are like the shepherds they are assumed to be. To diversify the interest a supernatural element is introduced. This element was not to the taste of Cervantes and it is not to modern taste. Yet Montemayor—who, by the way, was a poet and a better poet than Cervantes was willing to admit—delighted his own generation in Spain and out of Spain. *La Diana* was utilized by Shakespeare and Sidney. Montemayor, who was killed in Piedmont as a consequence of some love affair, is the most prominent vulgarizer of the pastoral novel.

La Diana was found too short by some contemporaries, and, as Montemayor's sudden death prevented his supplying the anticipated sequel, publishers made such amends as they could by inserting in posthumous editions the *Historia del Abencerraje y la hermosa Xarifa* (47). This tale is thought not to be by Montemayor nor by Antonio de Villegas, in whose *Inventario* (1565) it is first found, and who has been branded as a plagiarist. At any rate, the *Abencerraje* story has no concern with *La Diana*: it forms the basis of a Moorish story which was destined to find more acceptance in France than in Spain.

Less worldly themes preoccupied Juan de Ávila (1500?–1569), the apostle of Andalucía, whose *Epistolario espiritual para todos estados* (48) (1578) exhibits his skill in handling

prose for the discussion of sublime points of doctrine and workaday commonplaces. With Juan de Ávila, the representative of strenuous orthodoxy, may be paired Juan de Valdés (d. 1541), a doctrinaire who assimilated Erasmianism and verged on heterodoxy. Juan de Valdés may have had some part in an anonymous *Diálogo* (1528) on the Sack of Rome: the better opinion ascribes this to Alfonso de Valdés (d. 1532), who, though secretary to Charles V, shared his brother's theological views. Juan de Valdés is almost certainly the author of the anonymous *Diálogo de Mercurio y Caron* (49) (1528), a satire in Lucian's manner on ecclesiastical abuses. Henry VIII's attempts to rid himself of his Spanish wife are severely judged. The *Diálogo de Mercurio y Caron* may have come into Cervantes's hands, for it contains a passage which would seem to have suggested Don Quixote's advice to Sancho Panza. Valdés removed to Rome in 1531, is alleged to have been chamberlain to Clement VII, and later at Naples to have entered the household of a cardinal. At Naples Valdés was the centre of a group which included some persons of a reforming tendency. His doctrinal writings do not concern us. He is generally held to be the author of the *Diálogo de la lengua* (50), probably written during the lifetime of Garcilasso de la Vega, though not printed till 1737. This *Diálogo* displays sound judgement in criticism of individual writers, and is couched in most excellent style.

Not all the chroniclers of Charles V's time followed Guevara's example in writing novels. A book of knight-errandries, *Don Claribalte*, was indeed produced by Gonzalo Hernandez de Oviedo (1478-1557), but such reputation as he has is due rather to his *Sumario de la natural y general istoria de las Indias* (1526), and *La historia natural y general de las Indias, Islas e Tierra Firme del mar oceano* (1535-1557) (51). Hernandez de Oviedo had the luck to be one of the first to give an impression of the New World, but, as a writer, he is neither good nor well informed. He accordingly came under the lash of Bartolomé de las Casas (52) (1474-1566), the fearless champion of the American Indians. Las Casas had the polemical and oratorical instinct; it is not so certain that he possessed the literary temperament; we possess, however, but a fragment of a late draft of his *Historia de las Indias* (1875-1876), the earlier draft, written twenty-five years

sooner, when he was in his prime, having vanished during the lifetime of the author. Las Casas was at any rate a trustworthy chronicler, and his prejudices are too patent to be misleading. In this respect he has the advantage of Francisco Lopez de Gómara (1511-1557 ?), chaplain to Hernando Cortés (1485-1547), who is the subject of excessive laudation in the *Primera y Segunda Parte de la historia general de las Indias con todo el descubrimiento y cosas notables que han acaescido desde que se ganaron hasta el año de 1551, Con la conquista de Mexico, y de la nueva España* (1552) (53). As the pleading in this work is specious and the phrasing is strong and lucid, Lopez de Gómara was read far and wide. His book reached Guatemala, and there fell into the hands of Bernal Diaz del Castillo (1492-1581 ?), an aged *conquistador* who still survived. Diaz del Castillo, who had served under Cortés, was moved to anger by Lopez de Gómara's bad faith, examples of which are gibbeted in Diaz del Castillo's *Historia verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España* (54) (the adjective after *Historia* in the title conveys not obscurely the writer's opinion of Lopez de Gómara's credibility as a witness). Though finished in 1580, Diaz del Castillo's book was not printed till 1632, when it appeared in an incorrect form. The writer's obvious uprightness made amends for any lack of literary skill on his part, and at once ended the vogue of Lopez de Gómara, which had endured for over half a century. Diaz del Castillo's work is a model of picturesque narration and has taken a new lease of life in José-Maria de Heredia's excellent French version (1877-1887).

These are among the early historians of America. The official chroniclers of Charles V were no less active, though their scope was less extended, as they narrated historical events in a more or less contracted field. A word must be spared for Florian de Ocampo (55) (1499 ?-1555), a canon of Zamora, who showed more ambition than judgement. He chose an indifferent text for his edition (1541) of the *Cronica general* of Alfonso X, and exhibited no sense of literary proportion in *Los quatro libros de la Cronica general de España* (1543), to which he added a fifth book ten years later. The Sevillian Pero Mexia (56) (1499 ?-1551) is plausibly identified with a certain 'Caballero Cesáreo', who contributed some spirited verses to Lorenzo de Sepúlveda's *Romancero*. This,

however, is more or less conjectural. Whatever Mexia's merits as a poet, he knew how to choose an effective subject, and how to do it justice in fluent prose. On his *Silva de varia lecion* (1540) Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* is based, as is also *La inocente Sangre* of Lope de Vega. Though less favoured by fate, Mexia's *Diálogos eruditos* (1547) are more than ingenious exercises. In history he published likewise a *Historia imperial y cesarea* (1545), a praiseworthy compilation which extends from Julius Caesar to the Emperor Maximilian; he also wrote, but left unfinished, a history of Charles V's reign, which was published in 1921. Mexia was not a great historian: rather was he a prose-writer who knew his business. This business was even better mastered by Luis de Ávila y Zúñiga, who accompanied Charles V in his retirement to Yuste, and survived him by some fifteen years. Ávila's defect is an excessive appreciation of his master. But he writes with graceful vigour in his *Comentario . . . de la guerra de Alemania hecha de Carlo V Maximo Emperador Romano Rey de España, En el año de M.D.XLVII* (57) (1548). Ávila's style, as befits his theme, is concise and not without a touch of martial elegance.

The literature of proverbs (58), which began to be gathered in the previous century (so it is said) by Santillana, received special attention during the reign of Charles V. Over four thousand proverbs were printed by Pedro Vallés in his *Libro de refranes* (1549). Grave scholars did not think it beneath their dignity to amass the popular sayings: as Hernan Nuñez de Toledo (1475 ?-1553) in his *Refranes, o proverbios en romance*, and the Seville humanist, Juan de Mal Lara (59) (1525 ?-1571), whose collection, or rather the first half of it, appeared in 1568 under the title of *La Philosophia vulgar*. The vogue for printing such works unaccountably diminished in Spain. The ample harvest of Sebastian de Horozco has never been made available, and the copious *Vocabulario de refranes* (60) of Gonzalo Correas (d. 1631) was not published till 1906.

EDITIONS, &c.

(1) Ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, in *Revista de Archivos*, &c. (1900), Vol. IV, pp. 453-462; ed. A. M. Espinosa, in *The Romanic Review* (1915), Vol. VI, pp. 380-385; *Das altspanische Dreikönigspiel*, ed. G. Baist, Erlangen, 1887. (2) *Cancionero*, ed. A. Paz y Méla, Madrid, 1885,

- 2 vols.; ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Cancionero castellano del siglo XV*, II; Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXII, pp. 4-154. (3) *Teatro completo*, ed. F. Asenjo Barbieri, Madrid, 1893; *Cancionero de Uppsala*, ed. R. Mitjana, Uppsala, 1909. (4) *La Propaladia*, ed. M. Cañete y M. Menéndez y Pelayo, in *Libros de Antaño*, Vols. IX and X. (5) Ed. M. Menéndez y Pelayo, in Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. VII. (6) *Obras*, ed. J. Mendes dos Remedios, Coimbra, 1907-1912-1914, 3 vols.; *Four plays of G. V.*, ed. A. F. G. Bell, Cambridge University Press, 1920. (7) *El primer auto sacramental y noticia de su autor El Bachiller H. L. de Y.*, by E. Cotarelo y Mori in *Revista de Archivos*, &c. (1902), Vol. VII, pp. 251-272; A. Bonillay San Martín, *L. de Y. y El Bachiller de la Pradilla* in *Revista Crítica Hispano-Americana*, Madrid, 1915, Vol. I, pp. 44-51. (8) Ed. R. E. House, Chicago, 1910. (9) Ed. M. Cañete (Soc. de biblióf. españoles), Madrid, 1870. (10) *Recopilación en metro*, Madrid (Libros de antaño), 1882-1886, 2 vols. (11) *Cinco obras dramáticas anteriores a Lope de Vega*, ed. A. Bonilla y San Martín, in *Revue hispanique* (1912), Vol. XXVII, pp. 390-498. (12) See n. 11. (13) *Farsa llamada Danza de la Muerte*, ed. F. Wolf in *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1852), Vol. VIII, pp. 114-150; Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LVIII. (14) Ed. L. Rouanet, in *Autos, Farsas y Coloquios del siglo XVI*, Vol. IV (Bibliotheca hispanica), pp. 375-394. (15) *Obras*, ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori, Madrid, 1908, 2 vols. (16) *Cancionero* (Soc. de biblióf. andaluces), 1st series, Vol. VII. (17) Ed. C. Pérez Pastor, in *La Imprenta en Medina del Campo*, Madrid, 1895, pp. 300-337. (18) Ed. L. Rouanet, *Autos, Farsas, &c.* (19) Ed. C. B. Bourland, in *Revue hispanique* (1902), Vol. IX, pp. 331-354. (20) Ed. J. M. de Alava, (Soc. de biblióf. andaluces), 1868. (21) Ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori, in *Revista Española de literatura, historia y arte* (February-June, 1901). (22) *Tres comedias*, ed. M. Menéndez y Pelayo, Halle, 1905. (23) *Obras completas*, ed. M. Menéndez y Pelayo, Valencia, 1911; Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXXV. (24) *Obras*, ed. W. T. Knapp, Madrid, 1875; *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vols. XXXII and XLII. (25) *Obras* [facsimile of the Lisbon edition of 1616 by A. M. Huntington], New York, 1903; Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXXII; ed. J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, Oxford Plain Texts, 1917. (26) *Poesías*, ed. Sra. C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, Halle, 1885. (27) *Obras poéticas*, ed. W. T. Knapp, in *Colección de libros raros o curiosos*, Vol. XI; *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXXII. (28) *Obras*, ed. J. Hazañas y La Rúa, Seville, 1895, 2 vols.; *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXXII. (29) *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vols. XXXII and XXXV. (30) *Varias poesías*, Madrid, 1804; *Contienda de Ajax*, &c., ed. J. J. López de Sedano, *Parnaso español*, Madrid, 1770, Vol. II, 21-51. (31) Ed. J. M. Asensio y Toledo (Soc. de biblióf. andaluces), Seville, 1879. (32) *Miscelánea*, ed. P. de Gayangos, in *Memorial histórico español*, Madrid, 1859, Vol. XI. (33) *Obras*, Madrid, 1792, 2 vols.; *Sermón de amores*, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Revue hispanique* (1916), Vol. XXXVI, pp. 509-595; Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXXII. (34) Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXXVI. (35) Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXV. (36) *Obras que F. C. de S. ha hecho glosado i traducido*, Madrid, 1772; *Crónica de Nueva España*, ed. M. Magallón, Madrid, 1914. (37) Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XVI. (38) *Menosprecio de Corte*, ed. J. de San Pelayo Ladrón de García, Bilbao,

1893; ed. M. Martínez de Burgos (Clásicos Castellanos, vol. 29), Madrid, 1915; *Epístolas familiares*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XIII. (39) Ed. P. de Gayangos, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XL. (40) Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XI. (41) Ed. A. Bonilla y San Martín, Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XI. (42) Ed. A. Bonilla y San Martín, Bibliotheca hispanica, Vol. XIII. (43) Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXXV. (44) Ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, Bibliotheca hispanica, Vol. III; Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. III. (45) *Colección de libros españoles raros ó curiosos*, Vol. I, Madrid (1871). (46) Ed. M. Menéndez y Pelayo, Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. VII. (47) Ed. C. Pérez Pastor, in *La Imprenta en Medina del Campo*, Madrid, 1895, pp. 209-218; Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. III. (48) Ed. V. García de Diego, Madrid, 1912. (49) Ed. E. Boehmer, in *Romanische Studien* (1881), Vol. VI, pp. 1-108. (50) Ed. J. Moreno Villa, Biblioteca Calleja, Madrid, 1919; ed. E. Boehmer, in *Romanische Studien* (1895), Vol. VI, pp. 339-508. (51) Ed. J. Amador de los Ríos, Madrid, 1851-1855, 4 vols. (52) *Colección de obras*, ed. J. A. Llorente, Paris, 1822; Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XIII. (53) Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXII. (54) Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXVI; ed. Genaro García, México, 1904-1905, 2 vols. (55) *Coronica general de España*, Madrid, 1791, 2 vols. (56) *Relación de las comunidades de Castilla*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXI; *Historia de Carlos Quinto*, ed. J. Deloffre, in *Revue hispanique* (1918), Vol. XLIV, pp. 1-320, 321-556; *Pedro Mexia, chroniste de Charles-Quint*, ed. R. Costes in *Bulletin hispanique* (1920), Vol. XXII, pp. 1-36, 256-268, (1921) Vol. XXIII, pp. 95-110. (57) Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXI. (58) M. García Moreno, *Calálogo paremiológico*, Madrid, 1918. (59) *Obras* (Soc. de biblióf. andaluces), Seville, 1876. (60) *Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales y otras fórmulas comunes de la lengua castellana, en que van todos los impresos antes y otra gran copia que juntó el maestro Gonzalo Correas*, ed. R. Academia Española, Madrid, 1906.

CHAPTER V

THE LATE RENAISSANCE

THE innovations of Boscan and Garcilasso took root all over Spain, especially at recognized intellectual centres like Salamanca and Seville. Of the Salamancan group, the most eminent poet was an Augustinian monk, Luis de Leon (1528 ?–1591), whose mystical treatises—*La Perfecta Casada* (1583) and *De los nombres de Christo* (1583–1585)—established his reputation as a prose-writer in his lifetime. His Latin works do not call for examination here. We are chiefly concerned with him as a Spanish poet. His statement that his Spanish verses were a pastime of his youth conflicts with the internal evidence of the poems, some of which refer to events that did not occur till Luis de Leon was nearly fifty. As the writer was the most truthful of men, it is hard to explain this apparent contradiction, except on the hypothesis that the poet meant his assertion to apply solely to the compositions—translations mostly perhaps juvenile—in the Third Book.

Having professed as an Augustinian at about the age of fifteen, Luis de Leon was elected to the chair of theology at Salamanca when he was thirty-three. There he made enemies who delated him to the Inquisition. Arrested on the 27th March 1572, Luis de Leon was imprisoned for over four years: he was charged with interpreting Scriptural texts in a rabbinical sense and with having some two years earlier translated the *Song of Solomon* for a nun. To the last accusation Luis de Leon pleaded guilty. Formally acquitted on the 7th December 1576, he had his version of the *Song of Solomon* confiscated, and was cautioned to be more circumspect in future. According to the *Monasticon Augustinianum* (1623) of Nicolas Cruesen (1570 ?–1629), Luis de Leon resumed lecturing at Salamanca with the words: 'Dicebamus hesterna die.' No story about Luis de Leon is better known than this, yet we must admit that it reposes on an unsatisfactory basis. Cruesen's assertion was not made public till over forty years after the alleged event. The remark would

lose much of its point if made to an entirely new audience. Luis de Leon did not return to his previous chair, which, during his imprisonment, had been successively occupied by two other professors. Possibly this picturesque anecdote is apocryphal. Luis de Leon was not particularly popular at Salamanca : nevertheless, a provisional chair was created for him which he held till 1578, when he was elected to a more permanent post. Perhaps owing to the allegation that he was partly of Jewish descent, he was never a favourite with the Inquisition : he was again censured by that body in 1584 because of his supposed views on predestination. Though his austerity of manner lost him the sympathies of individual Augustinians, Luis de Leon manifestly retained to the last the confidence of his brethren as a whole. Nine days before his death he was elected Provincial of his order in the Province of Castile. He had been Professor of Scripture at Salamanca since 1579, when his opponent was a Dominican, Domingo de Guzman, a son of Garcilasso de la Vega.

Luis de Leon's poems were not printed till long after his death, when they appeared under the title of *Obras poeticas, y Traducciones Latinas, Griegas, y Italianas. Con la parafrasi de algunos Psalmos, y Capítulos de Job* (1631). These verses were edited by Quevedo, who hoped that they would counteract the plague of gongorism. The remedy came too late. Though Góngora himself was dead, the evil that he did lived after him. Most of the existing poets were affiliated to gongoristic groups ; they were not to be won over by a silent and almost unique example of magnificent simplicity. None the less, Luis de Leon was speedily recognized as a very remarkable poet, and his reputation tends to increase. He adapted Garcilasso's favourite *silva*, infusing it with a spirit of devout philosophic reflection, instead of his predecessor's half-pagan, pastoral languor. Most subjects came alike to him. He is always simple, direct, and strong, whether he strikes the patriotic chord in the *Profecía del Tajo*, or is aesthetic in the lines to Salinas, or ecstatic in the *Noche Serena*. Seen in historical perspective, no classical Spanish poet seems greater to us than Luis de Leon.

He completely eclipses Francisco de la Torre (1534?-1594), another poet of the Salamancan school, whose *Obras* (1631) were published almost simultaneously by Quevedo, who,

as with Luis de Leon's poems, hoped to find in his verses an antidote to gongorism. Torre, however, wholly lacked originality, and was too often content with translations of Italian originals: at his best, he is but a pallid replica of Garcilasso. It is not difficult to mistake some of Torre's work for that of his friend, Francisco de Figueroa (2) (1536-1617?). Figueroa was perhaps the more puissant spirit of the two, and is credited with naturalizing blank verse in Spanish. He directed that his verses should be destroyed after his death; his wishes have been disregarded, for some of his poems appeared in 1625, and others have been recently published. Like other contemporaries, Figueroa had studied Italian models very closely, and even goes so far as to interpolate Italian verses in some of his Spanish poems.

In the *Primera parte de la Angelica* (3) (1586), Luis Barahona de Soto (1548-1595), whose courage was greater than his talent, ventured to measure himself against Ariosto. Yet he had the good fortune to be praised by Cervantes, who also uncritically complimented Gabriel Lopez Maldonado on a mediocre *Cancionero* (1586). Baltasar del Alcázar (4) (1520-1606) excels in humoristic quips and sallies, but is far less Italianate than the chief of the Seville school, Fernando de Herrera (5) (1534-1597?), whose poems in honour of the Condesa de Gelves, wife of Alonso Colon de Portugal, the grandson of Columbus—are redolent of Petrarchan inspiration. The finest efforts of Herrera, however, are the patriotic ode to Don John of Austria on his suppression of the Alpujarras' rising, the ode on the triumph of Lepanto, and the ode on the disastrous defeat (1578) by the Moors of King Sebastian I of Portugal. In these compositions Herrera displays a mastery of form and a depth of emotion rare in poets of any time. It is an irony of chance that this sublime poet should be known to many as the author of a piece of prose. Herrera, who was a good scholar, produced in 1580 an edition of Garcilasso, which involved him in an acrimonious controversy. Cervantes pieced together the dedication of the First Part of *Don Quixote* from phrases used in this edition of Garcilasso by Francisco de Medina (6) (1544?-1617) and Herrera himself. This was mere hazard; for Herrera is remembered mainly as a patriotic and amatory poet.

Though the subject of *La Austriada* (7) (1584) is purely

Spanish—a celebration of Don John of Austria's suppression of the Moors in the Alpujarras—Cervantes, who had no suspicion that the author, Juan Rufo Gutierrez (1547?–1621?), had based the earlier part of his poem on some manuscript copy of the *Guerra de Granada* (p. 55), evidently thought that nothing could be more simple than the comparison of the *Austriada* with the best Italian poems in heroic verse. Posterity has not confirmed Cervantes's judgement on this head, but it has come near doing so in the case of the thirty-seven *cantos*—reduced to thirty-five in the rearrangement of 1597—of *La Araucana* (8) (1569–78–89). This is by Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga (1533–1594), whom Cervantes ranks with Rufo Gutierrez. Ercilla is much superior to Rufo Gutierrez in natural endowment; yet, though Ercilla has written the best of artistic epics in Spanish, his poem contains serious blemishes in the form of declamatory eloquence and irrelevant digressions. This cannot be ascribed to the circumstances of its composition. The First Part was written by the light of camp fires, on scraps of leather or paper. Composed in these circumstances, the first section of *La Araucana* is marred by hurried workmanship; later sections are disfigured by tedious allegorical digressions. Perhaps more remarkable as a man than as a poet, Ercilla must be content to rank as the author of the first work of literary distinction produced on the American continent. Sequels and imitators were not wanting. A young Chilean poet, Pedro de Oña, attempted to continue the story in the *Primera parte de Arauco domado* (9) (1596) and to redress the injustice committed by Ercilla, so it was thought, against his chief Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza. No Second Part seems to have been issued, and perhaps Ercilla's treatment of Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza was generally thought not to be inequitable. At any rate, Ercilla's poem was continued in the *Quarta y Quinta Parte de la Araucana* (10) (1596) by the boyish Diego de Santisteban Osorio, and it was the model of Juan de Castellanos (1522?–1607) in his *Elegias de varones ilustres de Indias* (11). The first part of Castellanos's work appeared in 1589; the rest was issued in two instalments in the nineteenth century. Meanwhile, *La Araucana* was extolled by Voltaire, and was apparently read by the youthful Alfred Tennyson.

Now we turn to prose fiction. A genuine continuation of

La Diana (12) was issued by Alonso Perez, a Salamancan doctor, who had been a friend of Montemayor's. *La segunda parte de la Diana* (1564) is a dull farrago of plagiarisms. Not so *La primera parte de Diana enamorada* (13) (1564) by Gaspar Gil Polo (d. 1591), who stirred Cervantes to enthusiasm and to a very obvious pun. Evidently *La Diana* set a fashion. Every one who wrote fiction at all experimented in a pastoral: sometimes in verse, as in the case of *Los diez libros de la Fortuna d' Amor* (1573), a ridiculous performance which moved Cervantes to ironical banter; more often in prose, as in the case of Cervantes's friend, Luis Galvez de Montalvo, whose *El Pastor de Filida* (13) appeared in 1582, of Cervantes himself who began with *La primera parte de la Galatea* (1585), and Lope de Vega's *La Arcadia* (1598). Others are remembered with just contempt by Cervantes in *Don Quixote*, and the vogue of the pastoral lasted till at least 1633, when Cervantes's possible kinsman, Gonzalo de Saavedra, published *Los Pastores del Betis*. All these are offshoots of *La Diana*, and are so many variants of Montemayor's early effort. The wideness of his vogue is testified by the fact that the Carthusian Bartolomé Ponce de Leon brought out a kind of pious parody entitled the *Primera parte de la Clara Diana a lo divino* (1582?). This was an antidote to the supposed mundane amatoriousness of Montemayor.

The exaltation of divine love is to be sought in the mystics, of whom three thousand names are said to be recorded. It is impossible here to do more than mention a few leaders of the mystic movement. The most eminent of these is unquestionably St. Theresa (1515-1582), known in the world as Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada, and whose name in religion was Santa Teresa (14). As a poet, her verses are lacking in art: hence we cannot credit her with the authorship of the famous sonnet beginning

No me mueve, mi Dios, para quererte,

which is often ascribed to her, as also (on equally unconvincing grounds) to Saint Ignatius of Loyola and to St. Francis Xavier. These attributions are conjectural. Santa Teresa's distinction was won in prose; as might perhaps be conjectured, her first attempt would seem to have been in the direction of the chivalresque novel, which would appeal to

her juvenile taste for adventure. It was not from *Amadis de Gaula* and the like that she learned to write. Nothing is more characteristic of her than the flexibility and the variety of her style. The caressing note of her letters is in curious contrast with the rapt ecstasy of the *Libro de las Misericordias de Dios*, the *Camino de perfección*, the *Conceptos del amor de Dios*, and the *Castillo interior*. It is almost incredible that these various works are manifestations of a single spirit. There seems no reason to suppose that Santa Teresa was really interested in literature or that she even took up her pen for literary purposes, except when outside pressure was applied to her. Her manuscripts were edited by Luis de Leon, himself a distinguished mystic writer, who at once perceived in Santa Teresa rare literary beauty amounting to genius. Luis de Leon ascribed the accomplishment to divine inspiration: we need not accept that solution, and may be content to say that no more wonderful woman ever lived: her literary achievement is all the more astonishing in view of the fact that her health was weak and her leisure scant, for she was a reformer in her (Carmelite) order and was overburdened with mundane duties. Like many of the greatest mystics, she combined ecstasy with practical spirit.

Luis de Leon's title to be regarded as a mystic has been disputed, but it is difficult to see under what rubric but mysticism his last prose work in Spanish—*Los nombres de Cristo*—should be included. Perhaps more ascetic than mystic is Luis de Granada (15) (1504?–1588), who was brought up with Hurtado de Mendoza, and wrote in Spanish, though he passed the end of his life in Portugal. Possibly his most important book is the *Guía de Pecadores* (1567), which was highly esteemed by St. Francis of Sales, Fénelon, and the heterodox Marchena. Neither Luis de Granada nor Luis de Leon is, however, a mystic of the same importance as St. John of the Cross. San Juan de la Cruz (16) (1542–1591) was more exalted than Santa Teresa, and is so ecstatic as to be almost incomprehensible to ordinary mortals. He is more intelligible in verse; but his *Obras espirituales* (1618) display an intensely subtle and elevated intelligence. Like Luis de Leon, St. John of the Cross impregnates Garcilasso's *liras* with an ecstasy of devotion. To a younger generation belonged Pedro Malon

de Chaide (1530 ?–1596 ?), an Augustinian monk whose *Libro de la conversion de la Magdalena* (17) (1588), written for the nun Beatriz Cerdan y Heredia, is rigid in doctrine gorgeous in colouring, and comes from a mind prejudiced against worldly works.

Though the pastoral novel is artificial; though its remoteness from actual life deprives it of interest; though its shepherds are too lachrymose and too elegant; though its love intrigues are too complicated for us to follow them, it continued to be produced for about fifty years after the appearance of Cervantes's *La Galatea* in 1585, and it had no serious rival but the Moorish novel, adumbrated in *Xarifa*, as developed by Ginés Perez de Hita (1544 ?–1619 ?) in the *Historia de los vandos de los Zegries y Abencerrages* (18) (1595), a semi-historical novel which depicts forcibly the more picturesque and romantic aspects of existence in the beleaguered city of Granada, the exploits of Christian paladins and Moorish warriors, the contrasted figures of Spanish dames and Arab beauties. Though the *Historia* was often reprinted, its Spanish imitations were less often written in prose than in verse. In France the *Historia* was accepted as a model for prose-writers, and is the *point de départ* of a long series of works which include the *Zaïde* (1621) of Mme de Lafayette, the *Almaïde* of Mlle de Scudéry, and the *Abencerrages* of Chateaubriand. Just as the Moorish romances were taken up in the *Historia* of Perez de Hita, so the lead of *Lazarillo* was followed in Aleman's *Primera parte de Guzman de Alfarache* (19) (1599). Mateo Aleman (1547–1614 ?), was born in the same year as Cervantes, and is reported to have served, like Cervantes, in Italy. This is doubtful. It is, at least, certain that Aleman was the son of a doctor, like Cervantes. Like Cervantes, he was imprisoned more than once in Spain. Like Cervantes, he thought of emigrating to America; unlike Cervantes, he was enabled to execute this plan. He went to Mexico in 1608, started as printer, and there published a treatise on printing (1609). There doubtless he died, probably after 1613. Perhaps in jail he made closer acquaintance with the picaresque society to which he introduces us in *Guzman*; this book was popularly called *El Pícaro*, despite the author's protests. *Guzman* became extraordinarily popular. Somebody calling himself Matheo Luxan de Sayavedra, who may, or may not, have been Juan

José Martí (d. 1604) of the Valencian Academy of the *Nocturnos*, hurried out with a spurious continuation (1602). Aleman took this impropriety with admirable coolness when he brought out the genuine *Segunda parte de la Vida de Guzman de Alfarache, Atalaya de la vida umana* (1604): he here compliments the intruder on his knowledge, wit, and accomplishments, which he professes to envy. Mateo Aleman indulges in too many digressions and in too much moralizing; both these peculiarities are in the taste of the time, and, for the rest, it must be admitted that the author writes with knowledge of his subject, and proves himself a master of sombre, concentrated prose. Cervantes was not perhaps above borrowing a hint or two from Aleman.

The remaining prose-writers of this period must be sought mainly among historians or philosophers. It would be too much to claim literary distinction for Gerónimo Zurita (1512-1580). However, his *Anales de la Corona de Aragon* (20) (1562-1579) is readable, and is written with copious knowledge and arranged with laudable skill on a good system.

Not less accurate in method was Ambrosio de Morales (1513-1591), a relative of Perez de Oliva, whose *La Coronica general de España* (21) (1574-1586) was written in continuation of Ocampo's work. But the excellence of Morales' method does not make amends for the aridity of his narrative. The style of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza is the main merit of his *Guerra de Granada* (22), published posthumously at Lisbon by Luis Tribaldo de Toledo (d. 1634). Mendoza wrote this book under peculiar circumstances. Mendoza had retired from the diplomatic service when in 1568, as a consequence of an altercation in the Royal Presence with a fellow-courtier, he was exiled to Granada. The rising of the Moors (1568-1571) in the Alpujarras coincided with his arrival. His opportunities for first-hand observation were considerable: his judgement of men and their doings is mostly sound; his accuracy in chronicling minor events is astonishing. But it is by the style that the *Guerra de Granada* survives. His deliberate imitations of Sallust and of Tacitus bespeak amazing skill. It may be that Mendoza reproduces some Latin constructions, but this is a rare occurrence and a minor blot on a great artistic achievement. An attempt to deprive Mendoza of the credit of writing the *Guerra de Granada* has been made: that attempt may be pronounced a complete

failure. José de Acosta (1539-1600) is remembered by his *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (23) (1590), which contains a few happy generalizations couched in idiomatic language. The language used by Spanish philosophers—by Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540), Gomez Pereira (1500-1569), Sebastian Fox Morcillo (1526?-1559?), and Francisco Sanchez (1550-1623)—was generally Latin. Among the minority who wrote in Spanish was Juan Huarte de Sant Juan (24) (1530?-1591?), who explained with lucid ingenuity his theory, then new, of the interdependence of mind and body. The sex and youth of Oliva Sabuco (25) (1562-1622?), whose name is printed on the title-page of a work entitled *Nueva filosofia de la naturaleza del hombre* (1587), have caused considerable attention to be centred upon her; but a recent theory is that the work was really written by her father, Miguel Sabuco y Álvarez, so that the wonder of the performance is sensibly diminished. Cristóbal de Villalon (26), a miscellaneous writer of much accomplishment, who perhaps is responsible for works of travel, besides *El Crotalon*, written about 1557, a satire in the manner of Lucian which was not published till 1871, began with *La Tragedia de Mirrha* (1536). It will be seen that, in this imitation of Ovid, Villalon touches on the dramatic form which, if we are to credit Juan de la Cueva, was copiously cultivated by Juan de Mal Lara (27), the Seville schoolmaster who is represented only by *La Philosophia vulgar*, the first part of a collection of proverbs, a department of literature in which Spain is exceptionally rich, and is a link in the chain of proverb collectors, which extends perhaps from Santillana to Gonzalo de Correas. More fortunate than Mal Lara is Jaime Ferruz (1517-1594), whose dramatic work survives in the *Auto de Cain y Abel* (28). Of greater historical importance was the previously named Juan de la Cueva (29) (1550?-1610?), a pupil of Mal Lara's and of Giron's, and a poet of some attainment, as is shown by the *Llanto de Venus en la muerte de Adonis*, a piece included in Cueva's *Obras* (1582). It is as a dramatist that Cueva obtains notice and remembrance. These plays of his, of extreme rarity, were not printed till 1583. Afterwards he laid down his principles of dramaturgy in his *Exemplar poetico* (1606). He had carried out most of his theories. In the *Exemplar poetico* Cueva advocates the exploitation of national themes. This he had already worked out in *La Comedia de*

la libertad de España, por Bernardo del Carpio, in *La Tragedia de los siete Infantes de Lara*, and in *La Comedia de la muerte del Rey don Sancho*. In *La Comedia del Saco de Roma, y muerte de Borbon* he put to dramatic purpose the events of 1527, and utilized a recent event in Spanish history. In *La Comedia del Infamador* Cueva appears to anticipate the methods of the future. He was perhaps before his time, for no sequel was ever published to the *Primera parte de las comedias y tragedias de Juan de la Cueva* (1583): it was something that this volume of plays went into a second edition in 1588, for though Cueva was not such an innovator as he supposed, his choice of themes and the metrical treatment adopted by him were novelties of a startling kind.

Slightly before Cueva in point of time, and early in and out of fashion, was the Galician Dominican, Gerónimo Bermudez, who under the pseudonym of Antonio de Sylva issued the *Primeras tragedias españolas*, *Nise lastimosa y Nise laureada*, *doña Inés de Castro y Valladares*, *princesa de Portugal* (30) (1577). Of these the better play is the *Nise lastimosa*, which is little more than a translation from the Portuguese of Antonio Ferreira. Scarcely more than one specimen survives of the romantic work of Andrés Rey de Artieda (1549-1613). His play, *Los Amantes* (31) (1581), is the oldest presentation on the boards of a subject afterwards dramatized by Tirso de Molina, Perez de Montalvan, and Hartzenbusch. Artieda was destined to be eclipsed by Lope de Vega, at whom he levels stinging allusions in the *Discursos, Epistolas y Epigramas* (1605), which he published under the pseudonym of Artemidoro. A playwright, once celebrated, who owes most of his present renown to the fact that he chanced to be praised in *Don Quixote*, was the poet and historian Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola (32) (1559-1613). Lupercio de Argensola is praised by Cervantes as the author of three plays which were financial successes. Of the three, *Filís* is lost: the remainder are artistic failures. Perhaps Argensola deserves neither credit nor blame for the quality of his dramas. *Marianna* seems to be derived from Ludovico Dolce, and the *Alexandra* is a convention of extravagant romanticism. Romanticism was soon to be introduced by the masterful genius of Lope de Vega. According to Lope's own account, Miguel Sanchez should be accounted among his predecessors. We are not in a position to judge of Sanchez's talent as a dramatist,

for but two of his plays are known to us—*La Guarda cuidadosa* (33) and *La isla barbara* (33). In neither of those is noticeable the stagecraft for which Lope credits the author, who is best known to us as the writer of a *romance* quoted in *Don Quixote*, and as the composer of a mystic song of such penetrating beauty that Luis de Leon has often had it ascribed to him.

EDITIONS, &c.

- (1) *Obras*, ed. A. Merino, Madrid, 1816, 6 vols.; Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vols. XXXVII, LIII, LXI, and LXII; *La Perfecta Casada*, ed. E. Wallace, Chicago, 1903; *De los nombres de Cristo*, ed. F. de Onís (Clásicos Castellanos), Madrid, 1914–1917, 2 vols.; ed. E. de Mesa (Biblioteca Calleja), 1917; *Poestas* originales de Fr. L. de L., ed. F. de Onís, Costa Rica, 1920. (2) *Obras* [facsimile of the 1626 edition by A. M. Huntington], New York, 1903; Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XLII. (3) [Facsimile of the first edition (1586) by A. M. Huntington], New York, 1904; *Poestas*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vols. XXXV and XLII. (4) *Poestas*, ed. F. Rodríguez Marín, 1910; Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vols. XXI, XXXII, XXXV, XLII. (5) *Poestas*, ed. V. García de Diego, Madrid, 1914; Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXXII. (6) *Juicios críticos*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXXII. (7) Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXIX. (8) [Facsimile of the first edition by A. M. Huntington], New York, 1902–1903; Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XVII; ed. J. T. Medina, Santiago de Chile, 1910–1918, 5 vols. (9) Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXIX. (10) Madrid, 1735. (11) Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. IV. (12) *Los siete libros de la Diana*, Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. VII. (13) Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. VII. (14) *Obras*, ed. V. de la Fuente, Madrid, 1881, 6 vols.; Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vols. LIII, LV; *Las Moradas* (Clásicos Castellanos), I, Madrid, 1910. (15) *Obras*, ed. Fr. J. Cuervo, Madrid, 1906; Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vols. VI, VIII, XI. (16) *Obras*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vols. XXVII, XXXV. (17) Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXVII. (18) *Guerras civiles de Granada*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. III. (19) Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. III. (20) Zaragoza, 1610, 6 vols. (21) *Crónica general de España que continuaba A. de M.*, Madrid, 1791–1792, 6 vols. (22) *Guerra de Granada*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXI; [Collection Mérimée] ed. H. Duffo, Paris, 1896. (23) Madrid, 1894, 2 vols. (24) *Examen de Ingenios*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXV. (25) *Obras*, ed. O. Cuartero, Madrid, 1888; *Coloquios* (2), Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXV. (26) *El Crotalon de Christophoro Gnosopho*, Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. VII; *Viaje de Turquía*, Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. II; *Tragedia de Mirrha*, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Revue hispanique* (1908), Vol. XIX, pp. 159–183. (27) *Obras* (Soc. de biblióf. andaluces), Seville, 1876. (28) Ed. L. Rouanet, in *Autos, Farsas y Coloquios del siglo XVI*, Vol. II (Bibliotheca hispanica), pp. 150–166. (29) *Comedias y Tragedias de Juan de la Cueva*, ed. F. A. de Icaza (Soc. de biblióf. españoles), Madrid, 1917. (30) Ed. E. de Ochoa, *Tesoro del teatro español*, Paris, 1838, Vol. I, pp. 309–348. (31) Ed. F. Carreres y Vallo, Valencia, 1908. (32) *Obras sueltas*, ed. Conde de la Viñaza, Madrid, 1889, 2 vols. (33) Ed. H. A. Rennert, Boston, 1896.

CHAPTER VI

THE REIGNS OF PHILIP III AND IV

THE aftermath of the Renaissance was gathered under the reigns of these two feeble kings. As it chanced, the two greatest literary geniuses embodied by Spain came to flower during this period. Both in the domain of fiction and of the drama—perhaps also in the field of lyrical poetry—Spanish literature reached its highest point of excellence. In the department of fiction Spain is splendidly represented by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (I) (1547–1616), of whom Montesquieu unkindly wrote that he was the author of a work which showed the absurdity of all other Spanish books. The son of a very modest surgeon, Cervantes lived a youth of comparative obscurity, and, after writing a few verses in honour of Isabel de Valois—third wife of Philip II—went to Italy, entered the Spanish army, and fought at Lepanto, where he received three gunshot wounds, one of which mutilated him for life. After five years of service in Italy, he went back to Spain to seek promotion there. On the 26th September 1575 the ship which bore him was captured by pirates, who carried him into Algiers, where he was kept in slavery for some five years. During his captivity Cervantes made frequent attempts to escape. Strange to say, his life was spared by Hassan, Dey of Algiers, who is described as a haematomaniac. While a prisoner, Cervantes wrote plays and poems, thus beginning a practice which he continued long after his ransom was paid on the 19th September 1580. He at once made for Madrid, failed to find more lucrative employment, and took to writing for the stage. According to his own account, he was not unsuccessful as a playwright, but in facility he was no match for Lope de Vega, who practically drove him off the boards in 1587. Cervantes, who had married three years earlier (12th December 1584), thought it well to obtain work less precarious than any afforded by literature, and, finding that he made next to nothing with the *Primera parte de la Galatea* (1585), secured a post as commissary to the Invincible Armada then fitting out. The duties of his calling were sordid and

took up much of Cervantes's time ; his misplaced zeal led to his imprisonment, and there are signs that, despite his pre-occupations, he often turned to literature. In 1605 he won immortality with *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha*. In the summer of 1605 Cervantes and others of his family were arrested on suspicion of being concerned in the death of one Gaspar de Ezpeleta, a rake who was attacked outside Cervantes's poor home at Valladolid and died therein. Inquiry showed that the Cervantes family had no guilty knowledge of how Ezpeleta came by his death : that dissipated scamp was probably killed owing to an intrigue with the wife of an attorney called Galvan. Cervantes is next heard of at Madrid, where he was engaged in a series of complicated disputes in which his natural daughter, Isabel de Saavedra, and her husband, Luis de Molina, are concerned. This Isabel de Saavedra seems to have been a tiresome person, and the inquiry at Valladolid threw a disagreeable light on her. During the years immediately following the issue of *Don Quixote* Cervantes's pen was apparently idle. Not till 1613 did he bring out the *Novelas Exemplares*, some of which had probably been written long before. *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, for example, is mentioned in the First Part of *Don Quixote*. This is a tale on a picaresque theme, as is likewise the *Novela y Coloquio que passò entre Cipion y Bergança, perros del Hospital de la Resurreccion, que està en la ciudad de Valladolid, fuera de la puerta del Campo, a quien comunmente llaman los perros de Mahudes*. It is interesting to watch Cervantes utilizing experiences in misfortune. *La Tía fingida* is not issued among the *Novelas* published by Cervantes ; the manuscript of this story was not found till 1788, and though it has frequently been included in reprints since 1814, the antecedent circumstances make the attribution to Cervantes doubtful. No doubt it is difficult to suggest any Spanish contemporary who could have written it, and the shrewd arguments of Sr. D. Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín go towards supporting the ascription to Cervantes. These arguments have not convinced anybody, and it has been contended that *La Tía fingida* is but a loose adaptation of Pietro Aretino's *Ragionamenti*. This theory is not impossible : it leaves untouched the question as to whether Cervantes was, or was not, responsible for *La Tía fingida* ; he was not too proud to use Italian

models, as he showed when he based his *Viage del Parnaso* (1614) on the *Viaggio in Parnaso* of Cesare Caporali. Cervantes exhibits here but mediocre powers as a versifier. Verse was not his natural vehicle: the last part of the *Viage* is a prose postscript dated two days later than Sancho Panza's letter to his wife. We are not to suppose, however, that *Don Quixote* was held back owing to the *Ocho Comedias y ocho entremeses nuevos* (1615). Cervantes's plays are not good, indeed, yet doubtless Chorley goes too far when he says of them that 'worse attempts, indeed, no man of transcendent genius has ever made'. The fact that they were not acted, but printed, is not to be taken as an indication that the plays were likely to be exceptionally excellent: rather the reverse. The formal plays are mostly failures: the one exception is *Pedro de Urdemalas*, which embodies an attack on Lope de Vega. On the other hand, the *entremeses* are often sparkling pictures of low life; sections of existence, disconcerting and diverting. *El viejo zeloso* is a scabrous piece on a scabrous theme. Yet, together with its fellows, it abounds in scenes of frequent effectiveness. Evidently Cervantes might have won high rank as a writer of low comedy. As it is, he is only second to his younger contemporary, Luis Quiñones de Benavente (1589?-1654).

Meanwhile he was slowly finishing the sequel to *Don Quixote*. This might never have appeared, had Cervantes not been spurred into activity by the publication (1614) at Tarragona of a spurious ending. This apocryphal continuation professed to be by one Alonso Fernandez de Avellaneda (2): Avellaneda was thought by Cervantes to be a pseudonym. This point has been followed up for over two centuries, but without greater result than this: if Avellaneda be indeed a pseudonym, it may possibly conceal the personality of Alonso Fernandez (1569-1633), author of certain historical and devotional works. Cervantists have often declined to see any merit in Avellaneda's work, apart from its licentious episodes; the apocryphal sequel is an amusing and well-written book, which was preferred to the original by Le Sage.

We need not agree with Le Sage's opinion. In the First Part of *Don Quixote*, Cervantes states that his purpose was to do away with the influence of books of chivalry. This had been attempted previously by Chaucer and Folengo,

though Cervantes may not have been aware of this. Possibly he set out with the intention of writing a short story ridiculing the chivalresque fiction. It has been thought that Cervantes was suggestionized by the *Entremes de los Romances* written about 1597. This is possible; but the framework of his story gradually grew under his hand. Little by little the tale became a transcription of experiences the most varied. The author introduced remembrances of his captivity as a slave in Algiers; he intercalated picaresque embellishments suggested to him by scenes which he had observed when a commissary; and there are personal touches which are directed banteringly against men to whom the writer bore some sort of grudge. Taken as a whole, *Don Quixote* may be regarded as an historical document, a faithful picture of Renaissance society, as complete as one could hope. All classes and conditions of men find place in Cervantes's presentment: laymen, clerics, monks who ride along the high road perched on mules as high as dromedaries, ladies who were accompanied on their journeyings by formidable Biscayans, galley-slaves with Maese Pedro among them, judges on their way to America, and who met at inns with grantees and barbers, with runaway lovers or Moorish captives. In a word, Cervantes described all society in the First Part of *Don Quixote*; he joined imagination with observance, reality with whimsy, and in the combination of fact with fancy, the medley of phantasy and realism in *Don Quixote* was something new. The book was the first in chronological order of modern novels; it shuts the door on the mediaeval tale. Already it has been hinted that perhaps Cervantes built better than he knew; he perhaps to the end was as a step-father to *Don Quixote*; and would gladly have exchanged all the fame that the book brought him for one of the facile triumphs which were weekly gained by Lope de Vega. His heart was really in the theatre. Chapter XLVIII of the First Part of *Don Quixote* proves it. And in the Second Part of *Don Quixote* the tradition is maintained. The new characters are as vivid as the old, and the increased vigour of the conversation perhaps owes something to the verisimilitude of the dialogue in Cervantes's plays. The charm of Cervantes, at his best, lies in his truthfulness, his understanding, and his wide sympathies. Not always, however, is he successful in his

transcription of life in *Don Quixote*, and the best of his *Novelas Exemplares* are eminent examples of success. In *La primera parte de la Galatea* Cervantes, bidding farewell to facts, observes only too faithfully the artificial convention of the pastoral novel, its style, its form, its unreality, its dull monotony. And, though he never finished the *Galatea*, his mind ran on it far too often. His weakness for gorgeous artificiality is plain in his posthumous romance, *Los Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*—perhaps his most marked example of deliberate ornament. He finds, we are told, as he gleefully records, that it will be the best or worst book of its kind. It is neither. An imitation of Achilles Tatius, its wealth of complicated incident has not interested posterity, its pre-occupation with style might react on the native and foreign reader; its stiffness contrasts with the negligent grace of Cervantes's manner at its best. Neither of these books has the abundant probability of *Don Quixote*, which, whatever its defects, remains one of the great books of the world's literature. Cervantes owes his immortality to *Don Quixote* as certainly as Dante owes his fame to *La Divina Commedia*. As a poet and a critic, Cervantes was little more than mediocre; as a playwright he lacked scenic sense and dramatic plausibility. We should willingly believe that his *La Numancia*, so lauded by Shelley and Goethe, is not really by him. It did not struggle into print till he had been in his grave for 168 years. In the drama Cervantes is doomed to fail because he has no thorough mastery of verse. He himself admits his deficiency on this head, and though we must make allowance for the subtleties of a master of irony, his testimony on this point is almost certainly to be received. His theatrical pieces offer few openings for the parenthetical humour in which he excelled. Cervantes died on the 23rd April 1616, nominally on the same day as Shakespeare.

Spain's greatest playwright was partially contemporaneous with her greatest novelist. Lope Felix de Vega Carpio (3) (1564-1635), the son of parents in a humble station, was educated at the school of the Theatines in Madrid, and showed amazing precocity in literature. After leaving Alcalá, he found employment as secretary to various nobles, and made acquaintance with Gerónimo Velazquez, a theatrical manager and father of a handsome daughter who was a skilful actress.

The latter was Elena Osorio, the Belinda of Lope's early verse. Elena Osorio jilted Lope, who avenged himself by circulating a series of criminal libels about her. Lope was not constant to the lady, and, infringing the decree of exile which kept him out of Madrid, returned there and married Isabel de Urbina, daughter of one of the king's heralds. Chased by the police, he sought refuge on board the *San Juan*, then sailing out of Lisbon as part of the Invincible Armada. Lope returned from the Crusade with the pastoral of *La hermosura de Angelica* (1609), an epic destined to be long delayed before printing. He had already found an opening on the stage through the good offices of Gerónimo Velazquez, whom he supplied with plays free of charge. From Valencia he went in about 1590 to Alba de Tormes, where he entered the service of Antonio Álvarez de Beamonte, the fifth Duke of Alba, and began writing for the theatre anew. On the death of his wife in 1595, Lope returned to the capital, Gerónimo Velazquez having intervened in his favour. Lope's incorrections of conduct were remarked about this time, and perhaps they did not cease with his second marriage. His second wife, Juana de Guardo, was the daughter of a wealthy pork-butcher, and as Lope was unjustly suspected of fortune-hunting, his motives were the subject of stinging epigrams.

From about this time may be dated the period of Lope's activity outside the theatre. In 1598 he published his first important prose work in the *Arcadia*—*prosas y versos*, a pastoral novel in which Cervantes is mentioned (Book V) as 'one of the most famous poets of the age'. In this same year appeared *La Dragontea*, an epic in ten cantos on the last voyage of Sir Francis Drake: it failed because of its swaggering tone and its excessive use of allegory. Henceforward Lope de Vega scarcely allowed a year to pass without entering the literary lists. In 1599 he brought out his *Isidro*, a celebration in *quintillas* of Madrid's patron saint, and *Isidro* was always popular with the public and with the author himself. In 1602 he brought out *La Hermosura de Angelica*, at the end of which two hundred sonnets were added as a makeweight. In the *Hermosura* Lope measures himself arrogantly enough against Ariosto, who outshines him at every point: the additional sonnets are many of them beautiful in form and interesting in matter. *El Peregrino en su patria* (1604), a miscellany,

is notable for the list of *comedias* written up to that date by the author: it would also deserve remembrance if the ghost story in it deserved the hyperboles of Borrow. To 1604 also belong the two parts of the *Rimas*, and five years later Lope published the *Jerusalem conquistada* (1609), a narrative poem miscalled a tragic epic by its author, who hoped to outdo Tasso. Here, in some words on the title-page—*Familiar del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion*—we get the first hint of a tendency on Lope's part to seek refuge in devotion, and this tendency grew with time. It seems marked in the *Pastores de Belen, prosas y versos divinos* (1612), a most lovely composition, and had perhaps developed still further after the death of Juana de Guardo (13th August 1613). In the spring of 1614 Lope took holy orders. It was an ill-advised step. Unable to change his nature at once, Lope de Vega became engaged in some intrigue with Marta de Nevares Santoyo (the young wife of Roque Hernandez de Ayala). One perceives the irony of Cervantes's remark about Lope's *ocupacion continua y virtuosa*. Anxious for distinction in yet another field, Lope published his *Trinseo de la Fee, en los Reynos del Japon. Por los años de 1614 y 1615* (1618), which he dedicated to Mariana, and in which he glanced at the attacks on his theatre launched by Pedro de Torres Rámila in his *Spongia* (1618). In 1620 and 1622 he presided at the jousts in honour of St. Isidore, the future saint of Madrid, and presented the young Calderon to the public. To 1621 belongs *La Filomena con otras diuersas Rimas, Prosas y Versos*, which contains *Las Fortunas de Diana* and another backhander at Pedro de Torres Rámila (the thrush of the poem). Possibly, Lope at this time felt drawn to fiction, at any rate three short stories—*La Desdicha por la Honra*, *La prudente venganza*, and *Guzman el bravo*—are included in the volume of indifferent verse entitled *La Circe, con otras Rimas y Prosas* (1624), which rhymes the wanderings of Ulysses. In 1627 Lope published the *Corona trágica* (a poem in honour of Mary Stuart, based on George Conn's Latin life of the Scottish Queen). Lope falls short of his full measure in the *Corona tragica* as in the *Laurel de Apolo con otras rimas* (1630), where he dedicates himself to cloying eulogies of some three hundred versifiers. The best of Lope's miscellaneous writings is perhaps *La Dorotea* (1632), an autobiographic confession in prose form, which had lain

by him since his stormy youth. The matter and the style are both most interesting, and the *Rimas humanas y divinas del Licenciado Tome de Burguillos* (1634) include *La Gatomachia*, an admirable parody of the Italian epics.

All this while Lope was producing most copiously for the stage. According to Montalvan, Lope wrote 1,800 set plays and 400 *autos*. Of these some 470 plays and 50 *autos* survive: such numbers can only be approximate, for there is much uncertainty with regard to the ascription of plays to Lope. Plays are attributed to him in which he had no hand; plays are ascribed to other dramatists which are almost certainly by the hand of Lope. It is the penalty that he pays for his fertility; he himself tells us that over a hundred times he wrote a whole play in twenty-four hours. Internally, some of his plays show signs of haste; *Los Palacios de Galiana* and *El piadoso aragonés* are as bad as can be. But even in such hastily constructed plays he surpasses the dramatists who had gone before him: his construction is weak, but he abounds in humour.

We may safely distinguish Lope's earlier plays from his later ones. The earlier plays have fewer acts; the later plays have a *gracioso* as well as a greater number of acts. The *gracioso*, or funny man, is an invention of Lope's own; as presented in these rudimentary sketches the *gracioso* may not be as compact of humour as we should expect, yet Lope's *graciosos* are more spontaneous, less wooden than the alembicated creations of Calderon in the same kind. Nor is this the sole invention for which Lope can claim credit. His great achievement is that he humanized, made more vital, the dramatic work of his predecessors. He breathed the warm breath of his inspiration into the frigid morality of the Middle Ages; he subdued the rough humour of Lope de Rueda's boisterous farces to the smiling form of high comedy: he borrowed hints from Juan de la Cueva respecting the amplification of dramatic themes. He might perhaps have done more had he not depended too much on the taste and aid of the public. In *La Estrella de Sevilla*, which is usually attributed to Lope, but which has been ascribed in part at least to Andrés de Claramonte (d. 1626), it seems as though Lope shrank from tragedy. If he did so—the notion is as doubtful as is the ascription to him of *La Estrella de Sevilla*—we may set

down his hesitation to want of confidence in his public. To the end of his career it was Lope's habit to sit out the plays of his rivals, and to take note of every scene that especially pleased the audience. That Lope de Vega could write notable tragedies is proved by the existence of *Las Paces de los Reyes* and *El Caballero de Olmedo*. But the public was averse from the tragical treatment of themes, and Lope's own genius was no doubt in accordance with average taste. *La dama melindrosa* and *Las bizarrías de Belisa* are so many proofs of his natural gifts. In his later years he skilfully recast old subjects.

Lope's ingenuity first of all spent itself on the elaboration of plots; not till a later phase does he aim at the depiction of character. His great work is to have set the model for those who came after him on the boards in Spain. It was a giant's task which he undertook; he developed the gift which he imagined that he saw in Miguel Sanchez, the enlivening of the interest of the audience, misled by the truth; he made it seem natural to represent kings and rulers as subject to human emotions, tragic sentiments were the property of all classes; he smoothed the path for the dramatists who, by representing the life around them, spread a safe and good convention. But his most courageous act is the rejection of the theory of 'unities', which is the distinguishing feature of what Tirso de Molina calls the *comedia nueva*.

Lope de Vega wrote for the theatre and not for the study. He sought to please his audience more than a solitary reader in a library. This may account for various points of strength and weakness in his dramatic works. Having no theories of style, he confined himself to the contrivance of broad effects, and he succeeded marvellously in this respect. Such was his vogue that his name became a synonym for excellence: people talked of a Lope hat and a Lope cigar, meaning a first-class hat or cigar. This repute was not limited to Spain. In 1603 *La fuerza lastimosa* was played at Constantinople. Very shortly afterwards Lope alludes proudly to his popularity in America—as to which he was perhaps wrongly informed—and in France and Italy. With respect to France and Italy, Lope's information was correct. Rotrou and Molière exploited him in France; his popularity in Italy is proved by Franchi's *Essequie poetiche ovvero Lamento delle Muse Italiane* (1636). It is doubtful whether Lope de Vega kept all his popularity

to the last. He seems to have met with some checks in the theatre, and it appears that he had troubles of a private kind during his last years. He fell into a deep melancholy, and he thought that these episodes were judgements on him for his past sins, which he sought to blot out by flogging himself. His last poems—a sonnet and a *silva*—were written on the 23rd August 1635. Four days later Lope died. All Madrid joined in the funeral procession, which went out of the direct path so as to pass before the windows of the convent of Trinitarians, where Lope's natural daughter, Sor Marcela de Felix, had been a nun since 1622. Lope was buried in St. Sebastian's church, but, owing to a blunder made early in the nineteenth century during one of the periodical tidying of the church, all trace of his remains is now lost, and after a stormy life the marvel of his epoch sleeps at last in peace. Lope must be judged by the conventions of the Spanish stage. He took those conventions, gave them consistent form, and built up an entire dramatic literature. He continued the tradition of sung pieces noticeable in Enzina and in the anonymous *Misterio de Elche*, which is sung yearly in the Valencian dialect in that city to commemorate the Assumption. He invented the *zarzuela* in *La Selva sin amor* and thus opened the way for Calderon's *Laurel de Apolo* and *El Jardin de Falerina*. In other points he was surpassed by his successors—in wit and creative force by Tirso de Molina, in sobriety and measure by Ruiz de Alarcon, in gorgeous imagery and lyrical splendour by Calderon, but none of those could have existed without him, and none of them can be said to eclipse him despite their superiority in individual qualities. He is rightly recognized as the creator of the Spanish *comedia* in its established form, and it is unlikely that anything can ever eclipse such an array of splendid gifts. If one can imagine such a thing, Lope is Shakespeare without the great poetry, but with more dramatic initiative.

Tirso de Molina (4) (1571 ?–1648), the pseudonym of Gabriel Tellez, who is far more celebrated by his assumed name, is known nearly all the world over as the creator of Don Juan. He seems to have entered the Mercenarian order in 1601, and, before a journey to the West Indies in 1615, was already known as a playwright. He and Lope de Vega, though not on cordial terms with each other, exchanged

dedications of plays, and in 1622 Tirso competed unsuccessfully at the jousts in honour of St. Isidore. His plays, issued—so it is conjectured—out of their order, won him a popularity which, to judge from the few which survive out of over four hundred that he is known to have written, is well deserved. This popularity was on the wane when Lope died, and two or three years later Tirso de Molina ceased writing plays. He died at Soria, where he was superior, in 1648. Tirso de Molina began his career in print with the *Cigarrales de Toledo* (1624), a collection of tales and verses which are supposed to be told during five days spent at a country-house. The tales in the *Cigarrales* are worth reading, but the most interesting part of the volume consists of three plays: *Como han de ser los amigos*, *El Celoso prudente*, and *El Vergonzoso en Palacio*. These are the most notable items in the collection, and show where the author's talent really lies. Similarly in *Deleytar aprovechando* (1635), a like collection (though of a devout type) of stories and *autos*, the best thing is perhaps *El Colmenero divino*. But Tirso's fame is mostly based on his creation of Don Juan in *El Burlador de Sevilla y Combidado de piedra* (1630). The ascription of this play to Tirso de Molina has been disputed, especially since 1878, when a new version of the legend appeared with Calderon's name on the title-page. Nevertheless, in the main, Tirso's title is unshaken, and the only question is whether he or Mozart has done the more for the propagation of Don Juan's legend. Tirso has not Lope's easy fecundity, but is hardly inferior to him in variety. He excelled in the historical drama in *La Prudencia en la mujer*; in the portrayal of invincible shyness in *El Vergonzoso en Palacio*; in merry ingenuity in *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*; and in humorous appreciation of hypocritical pretence in *Marta la piadosa*. Shirley would appear to have borrowed from him while he was alive; at a later date he was adopted in France by Montfleury and Scarron, and in Spain itself Calderon imitated Tirso in *El Amor médico*, an example which many successors followed.

A dramatic playwright who almost rivalled Lope de Vega in fecundity was Luis Velez de Guevara (5) (1578–1644), whose dramatic work, *Mas pesa el rey que la sangre*, a powerful expression of the monarchical sentiment, is completely overshadowed by *El Diablo Cojuelo* (1641), an uncanny inspiration

which has been bettered in the French recast of *Le Sage*. Another disciple of Lope's was Guillen de Castro y Bellvis (6) (1569-1631), a coastguard officer whose *Las Mocedades del Cid* suggested *Le Cid* to Corneille, and (more doubtfully) whose *La Fuerza de la costumbre* may have been the model of *Love's Care*, a piece ascribed to Fletcher. An original talent for the stage was displayed by Antonio Mira de Amescua (7) (1577-1644), who was not less successful in the confection of devout plays than of lay pieces. That he was well known abroad is evident from Rotrou's *Don Bernardo de Cabrera* and from the same author's *Bélisaire*, both of which are based on originals by Mira de Amescua, who is also credited with the authorship of the *Cancion a una real mudanza*. An original talent was that of the Mexican hunchback, Juan Ruiz de Alarcon (8) (1580?-1639), who spent much of his life in wretched quarrels with Lope, to whose dramatic school he nevertheless belonged. Compared with Lope and most of Lope's followers, Ruiz de Alarcon wrote little, for he did not produce more than thirty-five plays (even if we reckon as authentic every piece ascribed to him). He is less gifted than Lope in facility and invention, less potent than Tirso for sober energy and for sparkling humour; but he has compensating qualities—an ethical aim and a marked individuality of talent. Corneille, having based French tragedy on Castro, chose to base French comedy on *La Verdad sospechosa* of Ruiz de Alarcon, who has won for himself a place a little apart from the dramatists of his generation. Another dramatist who followed Lope's lead was Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza (9) (1586-1644?), from whom Molière borrowed an important hint for *L'École des Maris*.

For the theatre a few plays of unimportance were written by Luis de Góngora (10) (1561-1627), whose efforts in this direction were eclipsed by his lyrical verses. The son of a minor Cordoban judge, Góngora took his mother's name and began writing even before he left Salamanca. His earlier poems are marked by a fine simplicity, with perhaps an echo of Herrera's pomp: from about 1610 dates his second manner to which the name of gongorism or *culteranismo* is given. This is the acme of artificiality, particularly in its inversions, its elaborate metaphors, forced antitheses, and wilful obscurity. There was a movement against these peculiarities, headed by

the brothers Lupercio and Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola (11) in a volume of posthumous *Rimas* (1631), which was highly commended by Lope de Vega. Long before this date Góngora had failed to obtain the approval of Pedro de Valencia, and in the *Antidoto contra las Soledades* (1618) had drawn some stinging censure from Juan de Jáuregui (12). There is no evidence that Valencia changed his view; we know that this happened to both Lope and Jáuregui, in fact gongorism became a posthumous plague in Spain. Góngora died in 1627. No doubt his chief vogue was posthumous. But there is a difficulty in 'placing' him correctly. He reached the height of his vogue during the reign of Philip IV and Charles II, but he wrote and exercised an influence in the reign of Philip III. Cervantes lauded the Polypheman stanzas of Góngora, not taking into account that *Polifemo* is one of Góngora's most obscure works. Góngora has never recovered his old supremacy, but he enjoys, and indeed deserves, a most exceptional position among Spanish poets.

Another gongorist poet was Hortensio Felix Paravicino y Arteaga (13) (1580-1633), who died untimely. Distinguished as a preacher, he practised gongorism in prose as well as in verse in his *Obras postumas divinas y humanas* (1641). Still briefer was the career of another gongoristic poet, Juan de Tarsis, second Conde de Villamediana (14) (1582?-1622), the alleged lover of the Spanish Queen. His repute in this respect may have caused his early death, but his death may likewise have been due to his satiric epigrams, of which striking examples will be found in his *Poesías* (1629). These also embody some characteristic *culto* poems such as the *Fábula de Faeton* and the *Fábula de la Fenix*. Juan de Arguijo (15) (1567-1623) wrote admirable sonnets, but had even less influence than his younger contemporary Juan de Jáuregui (16) (1583-1641), who has the honour of being quoted as a good translator in *Don Quixote*; Jáuregui, as we have seen, was a ferocious anti-gongorist at one time, but his views seem to have modified gradually, and his translation of Lucan—a posthumous issue, made available in 1684, representing the translator's taste before 1614—is as gongoristic as possible. Great presumption was the characteristic of Esteban Manuel de Villegas (17) (1589-1669). This opinion of an admirable poet's merits is possibly justified by the *Eróticas* (1618),

some of which were written when the author was but fourteen. However, Villegas did not fulfil his early promise, and ended as a countrylawyer, half-crazed with vanity, who needed all the consolation he could derive from his translation (1665) of Boethius.

Ecclesiastics, it will be observed, play a prominent part in the literature of the Golden Age in Spain. Both in prose and in poetry they were eminent. Juan Lopez de Úbeda (18), author of the *Vergel de flores divinas* (1588), and Francisco de Ocaña (19), in his *Cancionero para cantar la noche de Navidad y las fiestas de Pascua* (1603), are less exclusively devout than is José de Valdivielso (20) (1560 ?–1638), whose *Vida, excelencias y muerte del gloriosissimo Patriarca y Esposo de Nuestra Señora San Joseph* (1604 ?) is too long to be readable. A later aspect of the author's talent is noticeable in his *Doze Autos sacramentales y dos Comedias Divinas* (1622). Hardly less excellent is the lyricism of the *Primera parte del Romancero Espiritual* (1612). Luis de Ribera's *Sagradas Poesias* (1612), though loudly praised by Gallardo, has never been reprinted. Other authors of note are José de Villaviciosa (21) (1589–1658), whose merry wit took the form of imitating in the *Moschea* (1615) the *Moschaea* of Teófilo Folengo. Little need be said of Juan de Arjona (22), parish priest of Puente de Pinos, who translated Statius; his rendering was not printed till 1855, and cannot therefore have exercised much influence on his contemporaries. A writer of Christian epic was the Sevillian Dominican Diego de Hojeda (23) (1570 ?–1615), whose *Cristiada* (1611) includes passages of sterling beauty which should save it from the oblivion into which, with Alonso de Azevedo's (24) *Creacion del Mundo* (1615), it seems to have fallen. Less devout in his choice of subjects—if we may judge by his surviving works, yet a *Divino Christiados* seems to have been lost—was Bernardo de Balbuena (25) (1568–1625 ?), who became Bishop of Puerto Rico in 1620. Short as is the *Grandeza mexicana* (1604), it has found few readers. Balbuena survives by his *Siglo de oro, en las selvas de Erifile* (1608) and by *El Bernardo o Victoria de Roncesvalles* (1624). This latter, though little more than an imitation of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, seems less artificial than *Las Navas de Tolosa* (1594) and the *Restauracion de España* (1607) of Cristóbal de Mesa (1558 ?–1633), an incorrigible imitator of his friend Tasso.

This list of poets may close with the name of Marcelo Diaz de Callecerrada, who in *El Endimion* (1627) comes forward as an avowed imitator of Lope de Vega.

Antonio Perez (26) (1540-1611) has long been supposed to have introduced preciousness into France; he will perhaps live by his correspondence, in which he displays a character most supple and an expression ingenious, though unworthy. Eugenio de Salazar (27) (1530 ?-1601 ?) is also a good letter-writer, and perhaps anticipated the animated tone of the picturesque descriptions of landscape by Balbuena.

Torres Rámila was not the sole unfriendly critic of Lope de Vega. Much severity towards Lope is shown in the *Filosofia antigua poética* (1596) by Alonso Lopez (28), styled *El Pinciano* from the Latin name of his birthplace (Valladolid). Lopez Pinciano set the example followed years afterwards by Jusepe Gonzalez de Salas (1588-1651), who, in his *Nueva Idea de la tragedia antigua* (1633), commented Aristotle with much insight, though in a clumsy style. His commentary took the form of letters in which the author gives account of discussions in which he has himself taken part together with his friends Hugo and Fadrique. Perhaps if Lopez Pinciano's object were more avowed, he would have succeeded better in detaining Lope in his victorious march; but his last chapter is clear, and, though the style is a trifle academic, his outline is sound enough so far as it goes.

Some place must be made for historians of whom two or three attained eminence at this time. The bead-roll begins perhaps with Francisco de Moncada (29) (1586-1635), conde de Osona, author of the *Espedicion de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos* (1623). This is based on the Catalan chronicle by Ramon Muntaner. A historian of Portuguese descent was Francisco Manuel de Mello (30) (1608-1666 ?), who in his *Historia de los movimientos y separacion de Cataluña* (1645) recounts the events of the civil war with an impartiality which prevented his book being printed in Spain till 1808. Owing to Mello's attitude, this result is comprehensible, yet he ranks among the best writers, both of Spain and of Portugal.

The greatest of Spanish historians was the Jesuit Juan de Mariana (31) (1535 ?-1624), who, after teaching in various

colleges of the Company's abroad, returned to Spain in 1574. He came into note through being called upon to report on the case of Benito Arias Montano, who was accused by Leon de Castro of favouring rabbinical interpretations of the Polyglot Bible issued at Antwerp between the years 1569 and 1572. Mariana was afterwards in small favour with the Inquisition on account of his Latin treatise on sovereignty (1599), and was imprisoned because of the doctrines advocated in three of his *Tractatus VII* (1609). But he is mentioned here as the author of the *Historia de España* (1601-1608-1617-1623), which, as he tells us, was written to make known to foreign nations the history of Spain, 'richer in exploits than in writers especially of this kind'. With this object in view he naturally began by writing in the international tongue of Latin: the first twenty-five books appeared in that language. Mariana's style is clear, stately, and with a touch of archaism; he himself scoffed at exaggerated pretensions to accuracy. He sets in attractive form the particulars which others collected, and his work, though, as appears from the *Advertencias a la Historia de Juan de Mariana* . . . (1611) of Pedro Mantuano (1585?-1656), it had not the luck to please everybody, caught the popular fancy, and is free enough from blunders to deserve Ticknor's praise of it as the most remarkable combination in the world of a picturesque chronicle and sober history.

That he had no serious rival in his own day we may perceive by reading Luis Cabrera de Córdoba (32) (1559-1623), whose *Felipe Segundo Rey de España* (1619), which goes down to 1583, is a good deal more neglected than his *Relaciones de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España, desde 1599 hasta 1614*. This work, not printed till 1857, has been often quoted as authoritative by writers who have dealt with this period. A South American who forces his way into Spanish literature is Garcilasso de la Vega, called *El Inca* (1539-1615) to distinguish him from the poet. His *La Florida del Ynca* (1605) and *Comentarios reales* (1609-1617) are more remarkable for their picturesque detail than for their rigid accuracy. History was also cultivated by Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses (1585?-1638), who after publishing novels which supplied Fletcher with plots wrote the *Primera parte de la Historia de Felipe IV* (1631).

The most prominent heterodox writer of this time was Cipriano de Valera (1532 ?–1625), who published a Spanish version of the Bible in 1596–1602. In the orthodox ranks room must be found for Pedro de Rivadeneyra (33) (1527–1611), author of a *Tratado de la Religion y Virtudes que deve tener el Principe Christiano* . . . (1595), and Juan Marquez (1564–1621), the Augustinian writer of a similar book, *El Governador Christiano* . . . (1612). The object of both writers is to refute Machiavelli and to offer various suggestions to rulers. The day of such works seems over, for they find no more readers than *La Historia de la Orden de San Geronimo* (1595–1600–1605) of José de Sigüenza (34) (1544 ?–1606), who has been ranked among the best of Augustinian prose-writers, a title which he perhaps shares with Martin de Roa (1555–1637), once famous for his *Estado de las almas de purgatorio* (1619).

Of learning, this age has no better representative than the Canon of Córdoba, Bernardo Aldrete (1560 ?–1641 ?), to whom we owe a treatise entitled *Del origen, y principio de la lengua castellana o romance que oi se usa en España* (1606). Aldrete is not over-critical, but has intellectual curiosity, vigour, and force.

Two writers destined to be famous in different fields of verse must be entered under the reigns of Philip III and Philip IV; one of them is the celebrated archaeologist Rodrigo Caro (35) (1573–1647 ?), the real author of the song *A las ruinas de Itálica*, which has been often attributed to Francisco de Rioja (36) (1583–1659); on insufficient ground also Rioja has had ascribed to him the famous *Epistola moral a Fabio* (which is probably by Andrés Fernandez de Andrada, son of the author of *El Arte de la Gineta*). But Rioja is unquestionably author of certain *silvas* and sonnets which hold, and which merit a prominent place in Spanish literature. He therefore did not exercise great influence in his lifetime, during which he published none of his poems. But he may in this respect almost compare with Francisco de Borja, prince of Esquilache (1581–1658), who was absent in the New World, and with the Conde Bernardino de Rebolledo (37) (1597–1676), who was long ambassador at Copenhagen.

A couple of poets are credited with leading up to the literary movement known as *conceptismo*. These poets were

Alonso de Ledesma (38) (1562-1633), a Segovian who startled his readers with the metaphysical topsy-turviness of his *Conceptos espirituales y morales* (1600-1606-1612), and Alonso de Bonilla (39), a native of Beza, whose *Peregrinos pensamientos, de misterios divinos* (1614) is full of ingenious absurdities. With such leaders, if they were indeed the leaders, *conceptismo* would have made no headway against *culteranismo*; it endeavoured to do with ideas what the second did with words. But it had the good fortune to capture Francisco Gomez de Quevedo Villegas (40) (1580-1645), and at once became formidable. With Gracian, Quevedo is now remembered as a leader of the school of *conceptistas* and as a writer of the well-known picaresque novel—*Historia de la vida del Buscón* (1626). Much of his time was spent in futile bickerings with Lope's young friend and disciple, Juan Perez de Montalvan (41) (1602-1638). Montalvan, who ranks much below his master, was perhaps not so important as Quevedo painted him in *La Perinola* (1633); but the latter work contained a prophecy that Montalvan would die mad. This sinister prediction was fulfilled. Montalvan wished to rival Lope in fecundity and variety: the effort was too much for him. Scholars study *Los Amantes de Teruel* from intellectual curiosity, but this play is not otherwise read, and Montalvan's tales, the *Sucesos y Prodigios de Amor, en Ocho novelas exemplares* (1624), find no readers even among students.

The secondary title shows that Montalvan had read Cervantes. A new life seemed to have passed into picaresque fiction after the appearance of *Rinconete y Cortadillo*. Within a few years of Cervantes's death there appeared the very readable *Vida de Marcos de Obregon* (1618) by Vicente Martinez Espinel (42) (1551-1624), a picaresque priest who wrote of what he knew. At any rate a knavish direction was taken by Antonio Liñan y Verdugo (43), a native of Vara de Rey in all probability and undoubtedly the author of *Gvía y Aviso de Forasteros que vienen a la corte* (1620); by the Segovian doctor Gerónimo de Alcalá Yañez (44) (1563-1632) in *Alonso, Mozo de muchos Amos* (1624-1626); by the anonymous writer who has given us the *Vida y hechos de Estebanillo Gonzalez, hombre de buen humor* (45) (1646); by Alonso Gerónimo de Salas Barbadillo (46) (1581-1635), who attempted play-writing in *El Mayorazgo* (1640) and *El Galan Tramposo* (1635). A friend

of Salas Barbadillo's was Francisco de Lugo y Davila (47) (d. 1660), whose *Teatro popular* includes eight short tales. An authoress who has been severely handled because of her alleged laxity of morals is Maria de Zayas y Sotomayor (48) (1590-1661?), whose *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares* (1637-1647) contain the raw material of Scarron's tales.

A cognate talent to Salas Barbadillo's was that of Alonso de Castillo Solórzano (49) (1584?-1647), whose plays had the good luck to please Scarron, as his tales of roguery, *La niña de los embustes*, *Teresa de Manzanares natural de Madrid* (1632), and the *Aventuras del Bachiller Trapaza* (1637), appealed later to Le Sage. Plays and picaresque stories were likewise produced by Enrique Enriquez de Paz (50) (1602-1662?), a Jewish soldier who adopted the pseudonym of Antonio Enriquez Gomez. With this name Enriquez de Paz signed the *Siglo pitagórico* (1644), a peculiar adaptation of the Spanish picaresque formula, especially in the section styled *La Vida de don Gregorio Guadaña*.

It was some twelve years before this that Quevedo's *Vida del Buscón* appeared, a work perhaps written in the author's youth. Despite its extreme harshness and the crudity of its realism, the *Vida del Buscón* is a powerful picture of low life, more inhuman than the sufficiently cynical *Sueños* (1627), which appeared in the same year, though perhaps not so early as the companion book. Quevedo is one of the great names of Spanish literature in which he attempted almost every kind of writing, from lives of saints to political treatises. Concessions to the taste of his time account for his frequent triumphs in his own generation; to these concessions it is due that he rarely enchants posterity, but his absolute failures are comparatively few; his *letrillas* and *romances* are full of spirit, and his actual fiascos are rare outside the dramatic field.

A writer relatively pure in style is Diego Saavedra Fajardo (51) (1584-1648). His best-known work is the *Idea de un príncipe político christiano* (1640), but his best work is almost certainly the *Yuicio de Artes y Sciencias* (1655), which was published under the pseudonym of Claudio Antonio de Cabrera and the title of *Republica literaria*. He has no trace in him of either *culteranismo* or *conceptismo*. *Conceptismo*, represented by the Jesuit Baltasar Gracian y Morales (52) (1601-1658), has had a modern renewal of

vogue, thanks to Schopenhauer. Gracian published nearly all his works under an assumed name. These works are miscellaneous in character, including treatises like *El héroe* (1637), which, though based on French and Italian predecessors, continue an old Spanish tradition, and an allegorical novel entitled *El Criticon* (1651-53-57), which embodies discussions on the profoundest problems. Disobeying his superiors by publishing *El Criticon*, Gracian fell into disgrace, was deprived of his professorial chair, and was sent into exile. Though *El Criticon* may be the most interesting of his works, the best known of them is the *Oráculo manual y Arte de Prudencia* (1647), a doctrinal exposition of his tenets in the form of maxims. Its resemblance to La Rochefoucauld's *Pensées* may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that the Spanish Jesuit and the French duke had drawn from sources common to both. Gracian has neither La Rochefoucauld's lightness of touch nor polished eloquence; but he has a philosophic outlook of his own, and his pessimism is no less personal and profound. He has a close relationship with *conceptismo*, and the reaction against him has undermined his authority as a critic. Yet he was able always to distinguish between Góngora, the poet of his youthful dreams, and gongoristic writers, who did little beyond mimic the traits of their chief.

EDITIONS, &c.

(1) *Obras Completas*, ed. Real Academia Española [facsimile of the original editions], Madrid, 1917, 6 vols.; *Obras Completas*, ed. A. Bonilla y San Martín and R. Schevill, Madrid, 1914 (4 vols. published); *Primera parte de la Galatea* [facsimile of the 1585 edition by the Hispanic Society], New York, undated; *Don Quijote*, ed. J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly and J. Ormsby, London, 1899-1900, 2 vols.; ed. F. Rodríguez Marín (with notes), Madrid, 1911-1913, 8 vols.; *Don Quijote* [facsimile of the Madrid 1605 and 1615 editions by the Hispanic Society], New York, undated, 3 vols.; *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, ed. F. Rodríguez Marín [with notes], Madrid, 1905; *Novelas Ejemplares*, ed. F. Rodríguez Marín, Madrid, 1914; *Entremeses* (9), ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori, Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XVII. (2) *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*, ed. M. Menéndez y Pelayo, Barcelona, 1905; Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XVIII. (3) *Obras*, ed. Real Academia Española, Madrid, 1890-1914; *Comedias escogidas*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vols. XXIV, XXXIV, XLI, LII; *Obras*, ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori, Madrid, 1916; *Teatro*, Bib. Calleja, Madrid, 1919; *Fuente Ovejuna*, ed. A. Castro (Colección Universal); *La Dorotea*, ed. A. Castro, Madrid, 1913; *Autos* (5), Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXIII; *Arte nuevo de hazer comedias en este tiempo*

[facsimile of the 1609 edition by A. M. Huntington], New York, 1903; *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo*, ed. A. Morel-Fatio, in *Bulletin hispanique* (1901), Vol. III, pp. 364-405; *Romancero espiritual* [facsimile of the 1609 edition], ed. A. M. Huntington, New York, 1903; *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vols. XVI, XXXV, XXXVI, LII. (4) *Comedias escogidas*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vols. II, V; *Teatro escogido*, ed. J. E. Hartzenbusch, Madrid, 1839-1842, 12 vols.; *Comedias*, ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori, Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vols. IV, IX; *Los tres maridos burlados*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XVIII; *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*, ed. B. P. Bourland; *Cigarrales de Toledo*, ed. V. Said Armesto, Madrid, 1914. (5) *Comedias*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XLV; *El diablo cojuelo*, ed. A. Bonilla y San Martín, 2nd ed. Soc. de biblióf. madrileños, Vol. II, 1910; *El diablo cojuelo*, ed. F. Rodríguez Marín [Clásicos Castellanos, 38], Madrid, 1918. (6) *Comedias*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XLIII; *Las Mocedades del Cid*, ed. V. Said Armesto [Clásicos Castellanos, 15], Madrid, 1913; *Las Mocedades del Cid*, ed. E. Lacroix [Collection Mérimée, 7], Paris, 1897; *Ingratitud por amor*, ed. H. A. Rennert, Philadelphia, 1899. (7) *Comedias* (5), Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XLV; *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XLII; *Comedia famosa del Esclavo del Demonio*, ed. M. A. Buchanan, Baltimore, 1905; *Canción real a vna mudanza*, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Revue hispanique* (1907), Vol. XVI, pp. 288-294. (8) *Comedias*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XX; *Teatro*, ed. Alfonso Reyes [Clásicos Castellanos, 37], Madrid, 1918; *No hay mal que por bien no venga* [Clásicos de la Literatura Española, 2], Madrid, 1916; *La verdad sospechosa*, ed. E. Barry [Collection Mérimée, 6], Paris, 1897; *Las paredes oyen*, ed. C. B. Bourland, New York, 1914. (9) *Comedias*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XLV; *Entremeses* (3), ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori, Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XVII. (10) *Obras poéticas*, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Bibliotheca hispanica*, Vols. XVI, XVII, XX; *Cartas y poesías inéditas*, ed. E. Linares García, Granada, 1892; *Poesías inéditas*, ed. H. A. Rennert, in *Revue hispanique* (1897), Vol. IV, pp. 139-172; *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vols. X, XXXII. (11) *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XLII; *Rimas* [Colección de Ramon Fernandez, 1-3], Madrid, 1786. (12) *Rimas*; *Farsalia* [Colección de Ramon Fernandez, 6-8], Madrid, 1786-1789; *Aminta*, *Rimas*, Madrid, 1804. (13) *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vols. XVI, XXXV. (14) *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XLII. (15) *Sonetos*, ed. J. Colon y Colon, Seville, 1841; *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXXII. (16) See n. 12. (17) *Eróticas o Amatorias*, ed. N. Alonso Cortés, Madrid, 1913; *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vols. XLII, LXI. (18) *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXXV. (19) Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXXV. (20) *Autos sacramentales*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXIII; *Vida, excelencias y muerte del gloriosísimo Patriarca san Josef*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXIX; *Romancero espiritual en gracia de los Esclavos del Santísimo Sacramento para cantar quando se muestra descubierto*, ed. M. Mir, Madrid, 1880. (21) *La Mosquée*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XVII. (22) *La Tebaida de Estacio traducida*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXXVI. (23) *La Cristiada*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXXV. (24) *Creacion del mundo*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXIX. (25) *Siglo de oro en las selvas de Erifile y Grandeza Mejicana*, ed. Real Academia Española, Madrid, 1821; *El Bernardo*, o

Victoria de Roncesvalles, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XVIII. (26) *Obras y relaciones*, Geneva, 1676; *Cartas*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XIII. (27) *Cartas*, ed. P. de Gayangos (Soc. de biblióf. españoles) Madrid, 1866; Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXII. (28) *Filosofía antigua poética*, ed. P. Muñoz Pena, Valladolid, 1894. (29) *Expedición de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXI. (30) *Guerra de Cataluña*, ed. J. O. Picón, Madrid, 1912. (31) *Obras*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vols. XXX, XXXI; *Historia general de España*, Madrid, 1780-1804, 3 vols.; ed. J. Sabau y Blanco, Madrid, 1817-1822. (32) *Felipe segundo, rey de España*, Madrid, 1876-1877, 4 vols.; *Relaciones de las cosas sucedidas en la Corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614*, Madrid, 1857. (33) *Obras escogidas*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LX. (34) *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo*, Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vols. VIII, XII. (35) *Obras*, ed. M. Menéndez y Pelayo (Soc. de biblióf. andaluces), Seville, 1883-1884, 2 vols. (36) *Poesías*, ed. C. A. de la Barrera, Madrid, 1867; *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXXII. (37) *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XLII. (38) *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXXV. (39) *Sonetos, Villancicos, Coloquios pastoriles, Glosas*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXXV. (40) *Obras completas*, ed. M. Menéndez y Pelayo (Soc. de biblióf. andaluces), Seville, 1897-1907; *Obras* (prose), Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vols. XXIII, XLVIII; *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXIX; *Epístola al Conde Duque de Olivares*, Biblioteca Oropesa, Vol. V; *Vida del Buscón* [Clásicos Castellanos, 5], Madrid, 1911; R. Foulché-Delbosc, *La Vida del Buscón*, New York, 1917; *Los sueños* [Clásicos Castellanos, 31, 34], Madrid, 1916, 1917. (41) *Comedias* (7), Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XLV. (42) *Vida del escudero Marcos de Obregon*, ed. J. Pérez de Guzmán, Barcelona, 1881; Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XVIII. (43) *Guía y avisos de Forasteros*, Barcelona, 1885. (44) *El donado hablador Alonso, mozo de muchos amos*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XVIII. (45) Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXXIII. (46) *Obras*, ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori, Madrid, 1907-1909, 2 vols.; *La hija de Celestina* (Colección clásica de obras picarescas, Vol. I); *Entremeses*, Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XVII. (47) *Teatro popular* (Novelas) (Colección selecta de antiguas novelas españolas, 1), Madrid, 1906. (48) *Novelas*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXXIII; *Novelas ejemplares y amorosas* (Colección de los mejores Autores Españoles, 35), Paris, 1840-1872. (49) *La niña de los embustes, Teresa de Manzanares* (Colección selecta de antiguas novelas españolas, 3), Madrid, 1906; *La garduña de Sevilla y anzueto de las bolsas*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXXIII; *Noches de placer*, ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori, Madrid, 1907; *Las Harpías en Madrid y tiempo de regocijo*, ed. A. Cotarelo y Mori, Madrid, 1907; *Comedias*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XLV; *Entremeses*, Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XVII. (50) *Vida de D. Gregorio Guadaña*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXXIII. (51) *Obras*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXV; *El texto primitivo de la Republica Literaria*, ed. M. Serrano y Sanz, Madrid, 1907; *Las empresas políticas*, ed. Juan Guixé, Paris [Biblioteca económica de Clásicos Castellanos]. (52) *El Héroe*, ed. A. Coster, Chartres, 1911; *El Héroe and El Discreto*, ed. A. Farinelli, Madrid, 1900; Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXV; *El Crítico*, ed. J. Cejador y Frauca, Madrid, 1913; *Tratados. El Héroe. El Discreto. El Órdculo*, ed. A. Reyes [Biblioteca Calleja], Madrid, 1918.

CHAPTER VII

THE AGE OF CALDERON (1635-1681)

PEDRO CALDERON DE LA BARCA HENAO DE LA BARREDA Y RIAÑO (I) was born in 1600 and died in 1681. Hence his life extended over the greater part of the seventeenth century. His active career dates from about 1622, and after the death of Lope de Vega in 1635 he attained immediate supremacy on the Madrid stage. At the capital scenic representation was concentrated; the Valencian dramatists Francisco Agustin Tárrega (1556?-1602), Gaspar Honorato de Aguilar (1561-1623), both mentioned in *Don Quixote*, and Carlos Boyl Vives de Canesmas (1577?-1617) belonged to an earlier generation. In early years Calderon and his brothers were fined for causing the death of a noble's servant, and later he was imprisoned for ridiculing Paravicino, a gongoristic poet and fashionable preacher; these were among the few adventures of Calderon's comparative youth. Though Calderon lived a much more correct life than Lope, his record was not impeccable. So much may be judged from the death of the mother of his illegitimate son, Pedro José, in 1648 or thereabouts. Calderon had served in the Catalan war of 1640; had retired from the army in 1642 and had been awarded a small pension in 1645. Continued illness led him into the Church about 1651, at about which period he thought of abandoning the stage. Though he may have taken orders as a means of livelihood, Calderon was a most exemplary priest. His scruples were overcome on his appointment to a chaplaincy at Toledo in 1653 and he went on writing for the stage till 1680. His plays were partly published by his younger brother José in 1633 and 1637; a third volume was issued apparently with the author's consent in 1664, and a fourth in 1672. In 1677 Calderon issued personally his twelve *Autos sacramentales, alegóricos y historiales*. This is significant. The *autos* were perhaps the works on which Calderon most prided himself. He may have been right. Calderon wrote about eighty *autos*, twenty *entremeses*, and one hundred and twenty general plays. In the matter of *autos*—one-act plays which

deal dramatically with the Eucharistic mystery, and were generally acted in the open air—Calderon has left us more than Lope : of lay plays he was much less fertile in comparison, and his surviving total in this respect is barely a fourth of Lope's. Yet it is easy to see that, practically speaking, he is an offshoot of Lope's school.

This might have been expected from Lope's immediate successor. During his long career Calderon does not seem to have made any departure from Lope's methods. He had no hesitation in borrowing subjects from plays by Lope, Mira de Amescua, Tirso de Molina, and perhaps other dramatists of the preceding generation. This implies poverty of invention and is bad enough; worse still is Calderon's incapacity to create characters. Really his talent was more essentially lyrical than dramatic. Yet all that could be learned in the way of dramatic resource was learnt by him, and in his handling of material he pushes conventionalism to its limits. By nature he was a humane and benevolent being : his temperament suffused his dramas and he could overcome it only by exaggerating the established type of, say, dramatic expression of vengeance. Hence his tragedies have an impression of unreality : this leads him to paint his injured husbands as men who exacted vengeance as a social duty. Owing to comparatively good luck, Calderon's theatre was more easily purchasable than Lope's and, as a consequence, his vogue was more enduring than Lope's. Chiefly owing to the fact that no other Spanish dramatist of that best period was as obtainable as Calderon, Calderon came to be regarded as the most representative dramatist of Spain. He could not be otherwise regarded in the absence of any one to compare him with. And indeed he deserves the highest rank as a writer of 'cloak and sword' plays. There is a certain sameness in all plays of this *genre* in which incident counts for more than character. But as character-drawing is not Calderon's special gift, he suffers less than he otherwise would. The 'cloak and sword' plays (characteristic of contemporary life) are extraordinarily picturesque and highly coloured, for they picture life as it was in its most vivid phase in Spain. Calderon nowhere shows more mastery of stage-craft than in this process. He ridicules his own dexterity in this respect and evidently thought little of this particular sort

of cleverness, which some of his admirers esteemed beyond measure. There was no need for any such exhibition of address in the *autos sacramentales*. These were most to the taste of Calderon himself and they doubtless constitute his high-water mark of dramatic achievement. He had written *autos* for over thirty years, and the amount of repetition in the seventy odd specimens which he has bequeathed us is amazingly small. The truth is that he was less interested in characterization of human weakness than in pious symbolism. This is particularly noticeable in the *auto* entitled *El pintor de su deshonra*, where the *pintor* is Christ who blots out our sins with his blood, compared with the observation of the conventional law of honour in the formal play of the same title. In fact the motives of 'honour' come down to Calderon from Lope, who received them from *Amadis* and exaggerated them, as Calderon in his turn magnified them. The absence of mothers from Calderon's plays is very noticeable. One feels that this absence occurs too often to be accidental, and one is driven to the conclusion that Calderon had not so high an opinion of woman as Lope. This is the case in the *Dama duende* and in the *Niña de Gomez Arias*. As with honour so with loyalty. This too derives from Lope, but, perhaps because of Calderon's association with the Court, he seems to set loyalty above honour. It is difficult, at any rate, to explain on any other supposition the action of Don Felix in *Amigo, amante y leal*, where Don Felix acts on behalf of Alexander, Prince of Parma, and blots out his excessive zeal by hinting at suicide later to Aurora.

All things considered, Calderon seems somewhat less important now than he seemed at the beginning of the nineteenth century. We do not now think of him as an 'Arab soul in Spanish feathers'! We regard him as following in no servile fashion the lead of Lope, accepting Lope's methods but intensifying his tenets. In his ordinary plays he perhaps lacks originality: his most valuable contribution is his delightful lyricism. His characters are too much alike: it might be said of them that in reading of their action it 'revolves to an animated shuffle of feet'. Yet it has so happened that Calderon is considered by many as the chief of Spanish dramatists. In Spain itself his vogue lasted longer than Lope's; and out of Spain he profited by the excessive

enthusiasm of the Romantics. Long before this, the handiness of his editions had stood him in good stead. Dryden, D'Ouville, Thomas Corneille, translated him; Scarron, Quinault, and Wycherley have adapted him at times, and the vogue has continued to the present when Mr. Robert Bridges has utilized Calderon in *Achilles in Scyros*. Calderon's style is vitiated with gongorisms at which he once laughed, but this peculiarity is common in writers of his period, who not unnaturally submitted to reigning influences.

Such a writer of robust originality as Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla (2) (1607-1648) shows traces of the same kind in the plays which he published in 1640 and in 1645. Rojas Zorrilla was much imitated in France by writers as far apart as Rotrou, Thomas Corneille, Scarron, and Lesage. But his most celebrated play, *Garcia del Castañar*, does not appear to have tempted any translator. Rojas Zorrilla is not perhaps as cosmopolitan in temper and spirit as Agustin Moreto y Cavana (3) (1618-1669), who issued his plays in 1654, nine years after Rojas Zorrilla's second volume was published. Moreto borrowed suggestions so freely from Lope de Vega that he may almost be said to have lived on crumbs which fell from Lope's table. His cleverness in adaptation is particularly manifest in *El desden con el desden*, which has been often translated into various languages, but with indifferent success. Moreto's is the last great name on our list of dramatists. The accident that Calderon lived to be over eighty helped to continue Lope's tradition, but only relative interest attaches to the work of Antonio Coello (4) (1611-1652), who appears to have written (perhaps under Philip IV) *El Conde de Sex* in 1633, and is said to have composed *Los empeños de seis horas*, which so enchanted Pepys; bald imitators of Lope's are the Portuguese Juan de Matos Fragoso, (5) (1608-1692); Gerónimo de Cáncer y Velasco (6) (d. 1665) and Francisco Antonio de Monteser (d. 1668), both clever parodists; Fernando de Zárate y Castronovo who wrote *La presumida y la hermosa*, destined to be used by Molière in *Les Femmes savantes*; the brothers Diego Fernando de Figueroa y Córdoba (1619-1664) and José de Figueroa y Córdoba (1629-1672), authors of *La Dama Capitan*. *La Judia de Toledo* of Juan Bautista Diamante (7) (1630?-1687) derives from *La desgraciada Raquel* of Mira de Amescua and from the poem entitled

Alfonso Octavo (1659) by Luis de Ulloa Pereira (1584-1674) : opinions differ as to Diamante's *El Honrador de su Padre* (1658), which is commonly thought to be an adaptation of Corneille's *Cid*, but is reckoned as an original work by excessively patriotic critics. The delightful Mexican nun Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1651-1695) seems to measure her graceful personality against Calderon's genius in her *Auto sacramental del divino Narciso* (1690) and to challenge comparison with Góngora in *Los empeños de una casa* (1692). This was no isolated phenomenon. From one of the best poets of that gorgeous age, Agustín de Salazar y Torres (8) (1642-1676), whose uncle, a bishop, was for some time Viceroy of Mexico, we learn that the *Soledades* was recited on speech-day in Jesuit colleges, and a marked savour of gongorism pervades *La Cythara de Apolo* (1681) which Salazar y Torres published on his return to Spain. Be it enough, as proof of the extent of Góngora's vogue, to quote the *Apologético en favor de don Luis de Góngora* (1694) by the archdeacon of Cuzco, Juan de Espinosa Medrano (1632-1688), nicknamed 'El Lunarejo' because of a disfiguring wart on his face. The dramatic movement of this time strayed into the eighteenth century in the persons of Francisco Antonio Bances Candamo (9) (1661-1704) and Juan Claudio de la Hoz y Mota (10) (d. 1714). Hoz y Mota might figure in the literary history of the nineteenth century, because both the Duque de Rivas and José Zorrilla borrowed a suggestion from him. A historian who became a dramatist was the long-lived Antonio de Solís (11) (1610-1686), who survives through his *Historia de la conquista de Mexico, poblacion y progressos de la America septentrional, conocida por el nombre de Nueva España* (1684). Semi-historical was the talent of Juan Antonio de Vera y Vargas (1583?-1658), conde de la Roca, who is best known as the compiler of the *Centon epistolario* (12), which he seems to have invented with the object of exalting his descent, by pilfering Juan II's chronicle; but he has other claims and deserves notice as the author of verses in the *Primera parte de las Flores de Poetas ilustres de España* (13) (1605) of Pedro Espinosa.

With the death of Calderon Spanish literature collapsed suddenly. More than ever gongorism had its own way. Since Góngora's death in 1627, he had become the fashion, volume after volume appeared with the ostensible aim of

explaining his obscurities. Josef Pellicer de Salas y Tovar (1602-1679) opened the path with his *Lecciones solemnes* (1630), Francisco Cascales (14) was bold enough to lift up his heel against the master in his *Cartas filológicas* (1634), Martin de Angulo y Pulgar sought to refute Cascales in his *Epistolas satisfactorias* (1635). Something like new ground was broken by Cristóbal de Salazar Mardones in the *Ilustracion y Defensa de la Fabula de Piramo y Tisbe* (1636), which went more into detail; a more careful edition of Góngora (1636) was brought out by Garcia de Salcedo Coronel (d. 1651) and contributed not a little to the illumination of the subject. This exegetic movement was accompanied by cynical mimicry. Everybody wrote as much as possible in Góngora's cryptic style. The ambition to reproduce Góngora's linguistic manner penetrated cloisters and somehow even appealed to Sor Violante do Ceo (1601-1691), whose *Rimas Varias* appeared in 1646. A poet perhaps more representative of his age was Juan Moncayo i Gurrea, marqués de San Felices, who in 1652 brought out a volume of *Rimas* more gongoristic than Góngora at his worst.

Of different mould was Gerónimo Ezquerria de Rozas, who as the author of *Genio de la Historia* (1651) is better known under the name of Fray Gerónimo de San Josef: another light of religion is Maria Coronel Arana, in the world—Sor Maria de Jesus de Ágreda (15) (1602-1666). She became famous as the writer of the posthumous *Mystica ciudad de Dios, milagro de su omnipotencia y abismo de la Gracia* (1670), but her powers of character and intelligence are more evident in the twenty-two years of correspondence which she began with Philip IV in 1643. A more mystical nature is that of Miguel de Molinos (16) (1627-1697), whose doctrine of quietism is expressed in his *Guia espiritual* (1675), which perhaps appeared first in Italian, but existed perhaps previously in Spanish.

The great name of Calderon continues to represent literature throughout the reign of Charles II. For about a hundred years the literary record is poor and the names of those scholars who represent literature and anticipate the direction of letters during the greater part of the coming century are few. Among these learned men were the churchman José Saenz de Aguirre, the historians Juan Lucas Cortés (d. 1700), the marqués de

Mondéjar, Gaspar Ibañez de Segovia (1628-1708), and the great bibliographer Nicolas Antonio (1617-1684), who began to publish his *Bibliotheca Hispana* in 1679. But this work, though indispensable to the student of literature, can scarcely be called literary.

EDITIONS, &c.

(1) *Comedias y Entremeses*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vols. VII, IX, XII, XIV; *Autos sacramentales*, ed. J. Fernandez de Apontes, Madrid, 1759-1760, 6 vols.; *Teatro selecto*, ed. M. Menéndez y Pelayo, Madrid, 1881, 4 vols.; *Autos sacramentales*, ed. E. Gonzalez Pedroso, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LVIII; *La vida es sueño*, ed. M. A. Buchanan, Toronto, 1909; *El mágico prodigioso*, ed. Wolfgang von Wurzbach [*Bibliotheca romanica*], Strassburg, 1905-1919; *La vida es sueño*, ed. F. Morère [Collection Mérimée], Paris, 1896; *Teatro*, ed. J. Gómez Ocerín, Bib. Calleja, Madrid, 1920. (2) *Comedias escogidas*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LIV; *Comedias escogidas* [Biblioteca clásica española], Barcelona, 1884. (3) *Comedias escogidas*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXXIX; *Teatro*, ed. N. Alonso Cortés [Clásicos Castellanos, 32], Madrid, 1916; *Obras escogidas* [Biblioteca nacional económica], Madrid, 1874. (4) *El Conde de Sex*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XLV; *La tragedia más lastimosa de amor, Dar la vida por su dama ó El conde de Sex* [Colección de Autores Españoles, v. 27], Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1863-1887. (5) *Comedias*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XLVIII. (6) *Vejámenes literarios*, ed. El Bachiller Mantuano, Madrid, 1909. (7) *Comedias*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XLIX. (8) *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vols. XVI, XLII, XLIX. (9) *Comedias*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XLIX. (10) *Comedias*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XLIX. (11) *Comedias*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXIII; *Historia de la Conquista de Méjico*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXVIII. (12) Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XIII. (13) Ed. J. Quirós de los Ríos y F. Rodríguez Marín, Seville, 1896, 2 vols. (14) *Cartas filológicas*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXII. (15) *Cartas de la Venerable Madre*, &c., ed. F. Silvela y de Le-Vielleuze, Madrid, 1885. (16) *Guía espiritual*, ed. R. Urbano, Barcelona [1906].

CHAPTER VIII

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

SINCE the Treaty of Utrecht was not signed till 1713, the first years of the century were comparatively poor in literary production. The new king, as became a grandson of Louis XIV, naturally took the French point of view, and lost no time in organizing learning. The Biblioteca Nacional was founded in 1711, in 1714 the Spanish Academy came into being, and the Academy of History in 1738. The Academy soon proved its efficiency by publishing its *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* (1726-9-32-4-7-9), the official title of the work commonly styled the *Diccionario de Autoridades*. A compendium of this *Diccionario* was issued in 1780; but no edition of the Academy *Gramática* appeared till 1771.

No doubt official circles favoured the French fashions patronized by the Court. In doing this, they accentuated a tendency already noticeable. Molière had been adapted in Charles II's time. But the preservation of a *gracioso* beside the dignified characters of the original demonstrates that Antonio de Zamora (d. 1728) conceived the piece wholly from the Spanish point of view, as did José de Cañizares (1) (1676-1750) in his adaptation of Racine. This indicates that the French influence had not penetrated very deeply even among the official classes: perhaps it reacted still less on the popular choice.

Poetry was attempted on a large scale at Murcia in 1727 when over one hundred and fifty rhymers competed at a poetical joust held in honour of St. Luis Gonzaga and St. Stanislaus Kostka. No striking figure emerged from the crowd, nor was there much purely literary production at this period. We must be content with mere mention of the Catholic evolutionist Gabriel Álvarez de Toledo (2) (1662-1714), the soldierly Eugenio Gerardo Lobo (3) (1679-1750), perhaps the best versifier of his generation, and Diego de Torres y Villarroel (4) (1693?-1770), an encyclopædic charlatan who half knew everything from the cedar on Lebanon to the hyssop that groweth on the wall. A versifier of some skill was the

monk Juan de la Concepcion (1702-1753), who was known as the 'prodigy of eloquence and learning'. His work has long ago been forgotten, and he is remarked solely for having made his entry into the Academy with a speech in verse, a feat unattempted till Zorrilla's time (31st May 1885). Juan de la Concepcion, as his nickname shows, was a dabbler in learning. Ignacio de Luzan (5) (1702-1754) was much more, for he had studied at Palermo under Vico, and his *Poética o Reglas de la poesía en general, y de sus principales especies* (1737) was but the Spanish expanded version of a treatise prepared for the Palermo Academy in 1728. Luzan's theories are based on Aristotle, and the views of French and Italian scholars. They are, of course, shrewd and are often to the point. He admits the 'variety and agreeableness' of Lope, the 'charm' of Calderon. This leads up to an attack on Lope, Calderon, and Góngora. So far Luzan has much reason on his side, but he goes on to identify the aims of poetry and moral philosophy, to argue that Homer is a didactic poet, that the epic should paint the portrait of a military chief who could enforce a moral lesson, and that there should be a close correspondence between the period of representation of a play and the time taken by the events recorded in a play. All this is put forward with plausibility and convinced those who were already converted, but it did not convince everybody—for example the *Diario de los Literatos de España*, founded in 1737, was frankly hostile to Luzan's views, which, however, were shared by Jorge Pitillas (6)—the pseudonym of José Gerardo de Hervas y Cobo de la Torre (d. 1742), who followed Boileau's lead in his *Sátira contra los malos escritores de su tiempo* (1742), an elegant composition, though Hervas was careful not to name Boileau anywhere.

On the other hand, conformity to the convention of the French school characterized Nicolás Fernandez de Moratin (7) (1737-1780), whose tragedy *Hormesinda* (1770) was staged only six times; Moratin was perhaps a Romantic by nature, judging from *Una fiesta de toros en Madrid*. No less unsuccessful in writing for the stage was Josef Cadalso (8) (1741-1782), a Spanish officer educated abroad till he was about twenty and who with Diego Tadeo Gonzalez (9) (1733-1794) had helped to found the Salamanca School of Poetry. Cadalso's *Don Sancho Garcia, Conde de Castilla* (1771), a tragedy which

with its rhymed couplets, pushes French methods to an extreme degree, failed, and Cadalso, whose personal charm was his greatest quality, was killed at the siege of Gibraltar. His prose is better than his verse: the *Cartas marruecas* (1793) are models of acute criticism and plain direct prose. His treatise—*Los eruditos a la violeta*—is perhaps the most able and delightful of his works. As a poet and a dramatist he was outshone by Vicente Garcia de la Huerta (10) (1734–1787), whose collection of odd plays entitled *Theatro Hespañol* (1785–1786), though imperfect, shows the direction of his tastes, which were still more accentuated in his patriotic play *Raquel* (1778). As a poet and playwright, he cannot be said to have fulfilled his early promise. The popular dramatist of the time, ridiculed by Luzan and his followers, was Tomas de Añorbe y Corregel (d. 1741). Perhaps the most gifted author of this period was Tomas de Iriarte (11) (1750–1790), whose *Fábulas literarias* (1781–1782) come into conflict with the *Fábulas en verso castellano* (1781–1784) of Felix Maria de Samaniego (12) (1745–1801). Iriarte was more versatile than Samaniego, and his two plays—*El Señorito mimado* (1788) and *La Señorita mal criada* (1791)—are full of salt and deserve a longer life than the writer's fables, which are admired for the wrong reasons—for their supposed wit instead of their mastery of verse technique. Much of Iriarte's time was wasted in dull polemics, specially with Juan Pablo Forner (13) (1756–1797), a formidable controversialist and irritable patriot as well as a man of learning. The *Asno Erudito* (1782) perhaps exhibits Forner's bad qualities at their worst.

Among the reforming writers of Spain at this period none was more effective and more systematic than the learned Benedictine Benito Gerónimo Feyjoo y Montenegro (14) (1676–1764), who corrected many current errors in his *Theatro critico universal* (1726–1739) and *Cartas eruditas y curiosas* (1742–1760). Feyjoo was bitterly attacked by patriots of a narrow type, but these attacks ceased by an order from the Crown. Feyjoo had the king and the big battalions on his side: he enlisted the aid also of Martin Sarmiento (1695–1771), who helped him to revise his work. Some men of learning showed a marked tendency to sacrifice accuracy to ingenuity: among these are Blas Antonio Nasarre (1689–1751), who maintained (1743) that Cervantes had purposely written bad comedies to

caricature the bad dramatists of his age. In this extravagance Nasarre was upheld by the authority of Agustin Montiano y Luyando (1699-1764), the president of the Academy of History, and himself the author of *Virginia* (1750) and *Ataulfo* (1753), both cold examples of academic correctness. Luis Josef Velazquez de Velasco (15) (1722-1772), who became the marqués of Valdeflores, committed the error of ascribing to Quevedo Francisco de la Torre's poems: this fatal mistake has been forgotten, and perhaps the one work of Valdeflores which survives is his *Origenes de la poesía castellana* (1754), which, as it happens, is most profitably read in the German expanded version by Johann Andreas Dieze (1749-1785).

The only readable novel of this age is the *Historia del famoso Predicador Fray Gerundio de Campazas, alias Zotes* (1758) by the Jesuit Josef Francisco de Isla (16) (1703-1781), who thought it wise to publish his story under the name of his friend and colleague Francisco Lobon de Salazar. Isla, who had been writing for over thirty years, had acquired a mastery of prose, and thought to accomplish for bad preachers by his novel all that Cervantes had done in *Don Quixote* for bad writers. For a long while Spanish pulpit eloquence had reached in the country a very low ebb against which denunciation was useless. Isla's ridicule proved effective where objurgation had failed. A second part of his novel appeared in 1770 and is superfluous for the modern reader. Macaulay is right in styling *Fray Gerundio* 'a good book': apart from Fray Gerundio's veiled extravagances it conveys a graphic picture of Castilian manners among the middle class. Isla excelled in more branches of literature than one, but it is by his novel that he survives. Fray Gerundio is, so to say, a clerical picaroon and *Fray Gerundio* might be counted as one of the last picaresque novels.

With the official prohibition of *autos* in Spain the partisans of French fashion perhaps saw a culminating triumph. They must in that case have overlooked Ramon de la Cruz (17) (1731-1794), who recanted, though he had begun as a supporter of the French school. Through the French version of Ducis he adapted *Hamlet* for the Spanish stage, but imitation was not his strong point. He followed the lead of Rueda and Calderon, democratized the *zarzuela*, and in such plays as *Manolo* and *La Petra y la Juana* gave a picture of Madrid

life in vivid colours. Somoza long afterwards said that whoever wishes to learn about the eighteenth century in Spain should study the plays of Cruz, the poetry of Iglesias (18), and the paintings of Goya. Somoza's prophecy proved correct on the whole. Juan de Iglesias (1748-1791), whose poetry has been somewhat tarnished by the passage of time, deserves to be remembered: less correctness and more fire will be found in the verses of Nicasio Álvarez de Cienfuegos (19) (1761-1809), a Romantic before Romanticism was born.

A poet of dignified inspiration was the celebrated statesman Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos (20) (1744-1811), who, however, distinguished himself most as a writer of official prose in the *Defensa de la Junta Central* (1810). A failure as a playwright—*El Delincuente honrado* (1774) is but a Spanish adaptation of Diderot's *Le fils naturel*—Jovellanos owes his historic fame to his nobility of character and to his patronage of Juan Melendez Valdés (21) (1754-1817), a man of exceptional poetic talent who 'professed' at Salamanca. Melendez Valdés failed as a playwright with *Las Bodas de Camacho* (1784). His natural gifts far exceeded his personal character, and his downfall came about owing to his personal weakness. Melendez Valdés was the incontestable chief of the Salamancan school, superior as a poet to Cadalso, Gonzalez, Jovellanos, and Gaspar Maria de Nava Álvarez, the future Conde de Noroña (22), whose posthumous work *Poestas asiáticas* was published in 1833. Cruz had a rival in Juan Ignacio Gonzalez del Castillo (23) (1763-1800), but Gonzalez del Castillo lived in the country and was practically unknown in Madrid. Thus the French school had it all its own way at the capital, being represented there by the younger Moratin—Leandro Fernandez de Moratin (24) (1760-1828)—who inherited his father's tastes for the theatre. The younger Moratin followed in the steps of Molière. He was happier in his time than was his father; Molière was the fashion at the moment; José Marchena (1768-1821), afterwards secretary to Marat, put *L'Avare*, *Tartufe*, and *L'École des Femmes* into Spanish; Moratin, who had a scent for success, traded on the public snobbery to a certain extent. But not very far. He was confident in his own powers as compared with those of Luciano Francisco Comella (1751-1812), a poor dramatist of the native type whose reputation had annoyed Moratin in Italy. In *El Café*

o la *Comedia Nueva*—of which Gerard de Nerval began a versified French adaptation—Moratin crucified Comella as Don Eleuterio Crispin de Andorra. The younger Moratin, who is best represented by *El sí de las niñas* (1805), was perhaps the most accomplished writer of his time.

About the middle of the century scholarship was represented by Gregorio Mayans y Siscar (25) (1697–1781), who edited the correspondence of Nicolas Antonio (1733), the works of the marqués de Mondéjar (1744), Luis de Leon (1761), Sanchez Brocense (1766), and of Vives (1782). He did almost as much for Spanish literature proper, for he was the first to write a rational life of Cervantes (1737) and he was the earliest to print the *Diálogo de la lengua* from Nasarre's MSS. Later on, the tradition of learning was carried forward by Enrique Florez (1702–1773), an erudite Benedictine who conceived and partly executed the plan of the huge work *España sagrada*, which began in 1754 and is not yet finished; by Francisco Perez Bayer (1711–1794), an able bibliographer who recast (1788) Antonio's work; and by the two Jesuits Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro (1735–1809) and Juan Francisco de Masdeu (1744–1817), the one a chief of philologists and the other an accomplished historian. Others took their share in the learned movement; for example, the laborious Valencian Juan Bautista Muñoz (1745–1799), whose *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (1793), written with scientific method, comes down to 1500, and Rafael de Floranes Velez de Robles y Encinas (1743–1801), who displayed acute intuition in dealing with historical problems and wrote a useful life of the chancellor Lopez de Ayala.

EDITIONS, &c.

(1) *Comedias* (7), Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XLIX. (2) *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXI. (3) *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXI. (4) *Obras*, 1794–1799, Madrid, 15 vols. (5) *Poética*, ed. E. de Llaguno y Amírola, Madrid, 1789, 2 vols.; *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vols. XXXV and LXI. (6) *Cartas*, *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXI. (7) *Poesías y Comedias* (4), Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. II. (8) *Obras*, Madrid, 1821, 3 vols.; *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXI; *Cartas marruecas* [Biblioteca Calleja], ed. 'Azorín', Madrid, 1917; *Obras escogidas* [Biblioteca clásica española], Barcelona, 1885. (9) *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXI. (10) *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXI. (11) *Obras en verso y prosa*, Madrid, 1805, 8 vols.; *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXIII; *Fábulas literarias*, ed. J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, Oxford, 1917. (12) *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XLI; *Fábulas*

en verso, ed. J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, Oxford, 1917. (13) *Obras*, ed. L. Villanueva, Madrid, 1843; Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXIII. (14) *Teatro crítico universal*, Madrid, 1765, 8 vols.; *Obras apoloéticas*, Madrid, 1765; *Cartas eruditas y curiosas*, Madrid, 1765, 5 vols.; *Obras escogidas*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LVI. (15) *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXVII; *Juicios críticos*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vols. XXXIII, XLII. (16) *Fray Gerundio*, ed. V. E. Lüdforss, Leipzig, 1885, 2 vols.; *Obras escogidas*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XV. (17) *Sainetes de D. R. de la C. en su mayoría inéditos*, Nueva Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. XXIII; *Teatro*, Madrid, 1786-1791, 10 vols.; ed. A. Durán, Madrid, 1843, 2 vols.; *Sainetes inéditos . . . existentes en la Biblioteca Municipal de Madrid*, ed. C. Cambroneró, Madrid, 1900. (18) *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXI. (19) *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXVII. (20) *Obras publicadas e inéditas*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vols. XLVI, L; *La Satire de J. contre la mauvaise éducation de la noblesse*, ed. A. Morel-Fatio, Bordeaux, 1849; *Escritos inéditos de J.*, ed. J. Somoza García-Sala, Madrid, 1891. (21) *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXIII; *Los Besos de Amor*, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Revue hispanique* (1904), Vol. I, pp. 73-83. (22) *Poesías* and *Poesías asiáticas*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXIII. (23) *Obras completas*, ed. L. Cano, Madrid, 1914, 3 vols.; *Sainetes*, ed. A. de Castro, Cadiz, 1845-1846, 4 vols. (24) *Obras*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. II; *Comedias escogidas* [Biblioteca clásica española], Barcelona, 1884; *La Comedia Nueva* and *El sí de las niñas* [Collection Mérimée], Paris, 1900. (25) *Elogio de Quevedo, juicios críticos*, &c., Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vols. XXIII, XXXVII, XLII, LXII, LXV.

CHAPTER IX

THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT

IN semi-official circles literary taste followed the French lead. This is manifest in the works both of Manuel Josef Quintana (1) (1772-1857) and of Juan Nicasio Gallego (2) (1777-1853), two offshoots of the Salamanican group who outlived romanticism, who were famous before romanticism became a power. Their original French sympathies diminished after the Napoleonic invasion of Spain in 1808. Quintana was the more gifted and versatile of the two writers. His play, *El Duque de Viseo* (1801), deserved to fail, as it did. Quintana was relatively reticent, but he may be judged by his prose as well as by a few poems, of the philanthropic order. Compared with Gallego (who, though a Liberal, was a priest), Quintana was a free-thinker. Gallego is perhaps more sympathetic, more human. From Quintana and Gallego derived Felix José Reynoso (1772-1844), the Dean of Valencia, who lost credit by inopportunately rallying to Joseph Bonaparte. Reynoso had less luck than Manuel de Arjona (3) (1771-1820), who counted among his disciples José Maria Blanco (4) (1775-1845)—best known in England as Blanco White—and Alberto Lista (5) (1775-1848). Blanco disappeared from Spanish (though not wholly from our) literature after emigrating to England in 1810, and Lista produced poems of taste, but nothing of exceptional beauty.

As early as 1816 Mariano Cabrerizo, a Valencian bookseller, began publishing novels whose tendencies enabled many readers to follow the heated discussions between Fernan Caballero's father, Juan Nicolas Böhl de Faber (1730-1836), and José Joaquin de Mora (1783-1866), in which the Hamburg merchant pleaded the merits of Spanish romanticism during the Golden Age. In practice he was compelled to choose the French variety of romanticism, which in Spain as in France was often combined with liberalism in politics. An original classicist, a follower of Melendez Valdés and Moratin, Francisco Martinez de la Rosa (6) (1787-1862) was driven by political events into exile, and during his second stay at Paris (23rd April 1834) he had a piece of his—*Aben-Humeya ou la*

révolte des Maures sous Philippe II—played at the Porte-Saint-Martin (19th July 1830). A Spanish version of this play was one of the means of introducing romanticism into the Peninsula (1836). As it failed, and as its predecessor in Spain—*La Conjuración de Venecia*—was no great triumph, romanticism of the French variety evidently needed a more robust champion. He was found unexpectedly in Ángel de Saavedra Remirez de Baquedano, the Duque de Rivas (7) (1791–1865), who, deserting from the school of Moratin and Melendez Valdés, set a new fashion in *Don Alvaro o la fuerza del sino* (1835), a romantic masterpiece the staging of which has something of the importance of *Hernani*. *Don Alvaro* succeeded by virtue of its daring mixture of prose and verse, its striking situations. Going the round of the world, it was set to music by Verdi. Rivas never again made such a hit in the theatre, but his *Romances históricos* (1841) show that he had an eye for dramatic themes and a command of expression. Rivas's success was repeated by Antonio García Gutiérrez (8) (1811–1884), a young medical student who wrote *El Trovador* (1836). This libretto likewise was set to music by Verdi and became universally familiar the world over. The last real triumph of romanticism on the boards was *Los Amantes de Teruel* (1836) by Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch (9) (1806–1880), a man of half-German descent with all the industry of his race, notorious in later days for his impertinent variants on the original readings of *Don Quixote*. In *Los Amantes de Teruel* Hartzenbusch made alterations which caused the play to gain in accuracy of detail what it lost in energy of inspiration. Unless we are to count the *Carlos II el Hechizado* (1837) of Antonio Gil y Zárate (1793–1861) as a romantic piece—it was accompanied by noisy demonstrations unconnected with art—romanticism closed its intense period of success on the stage within two years. Gil y Zárate had to be content with the applause which greeted his *Historia de la literatura española* (1843) and, as he had no followers, he had less influence on literature than had Lista or than Josef Gomez Hermosilla (10) (1771–1837), the pedantic author of *Arte de hablar en prosa y verso* (1826). Lista and Gomez Hermosilla presided over the school of San Mateo in Madrid, where they had as their pupil José de Espronceda (11) (1808–1842), to whom passed the sceptre of romanticism. A Catalan poet,

Manuel de Cabanyes (12) (1808-1833), who wrote in Castilian, has been highly praised by all critics, but he never attained a tithe of Espronceda's fame. Espronceda's youth was so irregular that he had to flee to Lisbon. There he first met the Teresa Mancha who cast so sinister a shadow over his life. He was destined to meet her again shortly afterwards in England, where he found her married. Amnestied in 1833, Espronceda was cashiered from a household regiment for reading disloyal verses at a banquet. Interned at Cuéllar, he busied himself with a dull historical novel *Sancho Saldaña o El Castellano de Cuéllar* (1834). The writer's great lyrical talent is manifested in the passionate verses of his *Poesías* (1840), and in the inspired section of *El Diablo Mundo* (1841) of which the best part is the *Canto a Teresa*. In 1841 he was appointed secretary to the Hague legation; in this year, too, he was elected deputy for Almería. He died at the age of thirty-four, after four days' illness. He might have developed politically, but as a poet his course was run.

Though a few Spaniards resent the classification of Espronceda as a Byronic offshoot this description of him is correct, so far as it goes. He struck the Byronic attitude in his poems and later in life. In his verses he often figures as his own hero. At times he does little more than translate. Thus Elvira's letter in *El Estudiante de Salamanca* is obviously based on Julia's letter to Don Juan. Still, though his debt to Byron is heavy, Espronceda is an authentic national poet. In *El Verdugo* he adopts Quevedo's trick of cruel observation, and in *El Estudiante de Salamanca* his portrait of Elvira is reminiscent of Calderon's idealizing methods.

Espronceda's irregularities of life perhaps had a powerful influence on Juan Arolas (13) (1805-1849), whose *Poesías caballerescas y orientales* (1840) represent an orientalism better assimilated than that of the Conde de Noroña (14) (1760-1815), whose posthumous *Poesías asiáticas* (1833) were but rhymed versions of English translations. 1840 is an important year in the history of Spanish verse. Besides Espronceda's *Poesías* and the *Poesías caballerescas y orientales* of Arolas, at this date were published the *Poesías* of Nicomedes Pastor Diaz (15) (1811-1863), a gay spirit in actual life, who thought it necessary to strike a pessimistic note in his verses; likewise the *Ensayos poéticos* (1840) of Salvador Bermudez de Castro, Duque de

Ripalda and Marqués de Lema (16) (1814-1883), whose variant of the octave is known as the *bermudina* throughout Latin America. Bermudez de Castro interests us, however, merely as a connecting link with Gabriel García y Tassara (17) (1817-1875), a better poet than he was a political prophet. A rival of Espronceda's who long outlived that chief of Spanish Romantic poets was José Zorrilla (18) (1817-1893). Zorrilla leapt into notoriety in 1837 by reciting elegiacs at Larra's graveside. During the ensuing years his copious production won him acceptance as a poet and dramatist, yet he went to Mexico in 1850. Though he returned, as usual, penniless, he was 'crowned' publicly in Spain in 1889. It may be doubted whether Zorrilla was as much hindered by financial difficulties as may be imagined. He had the Spanish gift of fluency; he himself admitted that he wrote the *Puñal del Godo* in twenty-four hours, and perhaps this statement is as true as Lope's corresponding statements about himself. Zorrilla thought little of his claims as a playwright. Yet perhaps his plays will be better known than his more popular poems. The traces of his hasty workmanship are less perceptible in the theatre than in the library.

Espronceda's *El Diablo Mundo* was continued by Miguel de los Santos Alvarez (1818-1892). Zorrilla was similarly aided by José Heriberto García de Quevedo (19) (1819?-1871), who lent a hand with *La Ira de Dios*, *María*, and *Un Cuento de Amores*. These three poems appeared in 1852 before Zorrilla left for Mexico. García de Quevedo did not fulfil this early promise: he fell during the Commune. Romanticism was, for an instant, irresistible to Manuel Breton de los Herreros (20) (1796-1873), who had begun in 1824 with *A la vejez viruelas*. His romantic escapade was entitled *Elena* (1834). But it stands almost alone in the list of Breton's plays. Breton's *forte* was humour embellished by versification; he has the opportunity of displaying what he can do in *Marcela o ¿cuál de los tres?* (1831). It is very difficult to find traces of romanticism in the plays of Espronceda's Argentinian school-fellow, Buenaventura José María del Carmen Vega y Cárdenas (21) (1807-1865). In *El Hombre de Mundo* (1845) Vega attached himself to Breton's school.

Once more we turn to poetry and to that marvellous year 1840. This is the date of publication of the *Leyendas españolas*

of José Joaquín de Mora (22) (1783-1864). Mora began, as we have seen, by a heated polemic with Nicolas Böhl de Faber on romanticism, and spent many years abroad (especially in South America). Mora's admiration for Byron often takes the form of copying. In 1840 also appeared the *Ternezas y flores* of a poet destined to excel in a very different vein from the romantic school and to survive till romanticism had grown a mere memory. This was Ramón de Campoamor y Campoosorio (23) (1819-1901). His poems *Ternezas y flores* and *Ayes del Alma* (1842) showed that Campoamor's talent was not genuinely romantic; finding the Romantics faithful to the tenets of Espronceda and Zorrilla, Campoamor came forward with an outlet of expression in *Doloras* (1846). These were continued in kind by the author under the title of *Pequeños Poemas* (1872-73-74) and of *Humoradas* (1886-1888). The poet has defined a *dolora* as a poetic composition in which mockery should be allied with feeling and conciseness with philosophic importance. This definition dates from 1869, more than twenty years after the first batch of *doloras* appeared, and it may well be that the definition lacks clarity and that there is ground for the view of a distinguished foreign critic that Campoamor's originality is limited to the invention of the technical name of this composition. There are, of course, admirable lines in Campoamor's long poems—in the sixteen cantos of *Colon* and in the eight cantos of *El Drama Universal* (1869), but these are not so characteristic of him as the *Doloras* or as the *Humoradas*, which denote the last stage of his smiling, bantering genius.

A word may be spared to Francisco Zea (1827?-1857) as represented by a posthumous volume of *Obras en prosa y verso* (1858): this contains *La Bandera*, a patriotic poem informed by a fire which secures the author his place in most anthologies. A learned lawyer and clear expositor was Francisco Martínez Marina (1753-1833), who in the first decade of the century published an *Ensayo histórico-crítico sobre la legislación y principales cuerpos legales de los reinos de León y Castilla* (1808); we may also mention Espronceda's *bête noire*, José María Queipo de Llano, conde de Toreno (24) (1786-1843), who issued his *Historia del levantamiento, guerra y revolución de España* (1835-1837), in which an attempt is made to attain dignity by accommodating antique tricks of style to modern examples.

No prose-writer of the nineteenth century is of greater force and energy than the son of a doctor, Mariano Josef de Larra (25) (1809-1837), who, owing to political circumstances, was destined to live at Bordeaux until his eighth year, when he returned to Madrid with an imperfect mastery of Spanish. Ill-luck dogged Larra throughout. Unhappy in his married life, which he began at twenty, he was forced to earn money as he could. Taking to journalism, he found himself compelled to avoid the government censorship by adopting the pseudonyms of 'El Duende Satírico', 'Andrés Niporesas', 'Ramon Arriala', 'Juan Perez de Munguia', and 'Fígaro'. By the name of 'Fígaro' he is still generally known. He came into note in *El Pobrecito Hablador* (1832-1833) in his twenty-fourth year. He was a born journalist, witty, with a crowd of memorable phrases which still hold together and bite in such an article as *El Día de Difuntos. Vuelva V. mañana* is a specimen of his lighter vein and is an attempt to reform by means of witty ridicule. As a novelist he is much less successful in *El Doncel de don Enrique el Doliente* (1834), and as a poet he is null. In a moment of anger with his mistress, Dolores Armijo de Cambronero, he finally blew out his brains.

A senior to Larra was José Somoza (26) (1781-1852), but his *Obras . . . Artículos en prosa* (1842) were not published till after Larra's death. Somoza describes a picturesque vanished Spain in tones of restrained eloquence. Less delicate in style was Ramon de Mesonero Romanos (27) (1803-1882), who writes with sense and simplicity but without any special charm. Affectation-riddles the *Escenas Andaluzas* (1844) of Serafin Estébanez Calderon (28) (1799-1867), known as *El Solitario*, just as Mesonero Romanos was known by the name of *El curioso parlante*. Neither is a very great writer, but Mesonero Romanos has the saving virtue of a straightforwardness which serves its end.

Something should be said of two writers of more pretentious prose. Juan Donoso Cortés (29) (1809-1853), afterwards marqués de Valdegamas, began as a Liberal, took fright at the revolutionary programme of 1848, and issued a manifesto in support of his new faith in an *Ensayo sobre el catolicismo, el liberalismo y el socialismo considerados en sus principios fundamentales* (1851). Nothing that is at all disputable is quite so

plain as Donoso Cortés would have us believe. But his theories are advanced with an exceptional eloquence of a contagious inflammatory ardour. Donoso Cortés is in curious contrast with the priest Jaime Balmes (30) (1810-1848), who sought to refute Guizot in *El Protestantismo comparado con el catolicismo en sus relaciones con la civilizacion europea* (1844). He does not disprove Guizot's point of view altogether, but by sheer persuasiveness of statement he renders some of Guizot's positions almost untenable. Balmes had not time to become an equipped thinker or man of letters, but he might easily have become both, as his works show.

EDITIONS, &c.

(1) *Obras completas*, Madrid, 1897-1898, 3 vols.; Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vols. VII, XIX, LXI, LXIII, LXVII. (2) *Obras poéticas*, ed. Academia Española, Madrid, 1854; *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXVII. (3) *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXIII. (4) *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXVII. (5) *Poesías*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXVII. (6) *Obras completas* (Colección de los mejores aut. esp., Vols. XXVIII, XXXII). (7) *Obras*, Madrid, 1894-1904, 7 vols.; *Romances*, ed. C. Rivas Cherif [Clásicos Castellanos], Madrid, 1912, 2 vols. (8) *Obras escogidas*, Madrid, 1866. (9) *Obras*, Madrid, 1888-1892, 3 vols. (10) *Juicio crítico de los principales poetas españoles de la última era*, ed. V. Salvá, Paris, 1840, 2 vols.; *Arte de hablar en prosa y verso*, Paris, 1893. (11) *Obras poéticas y Escritos en prosa*, Madrid, 1884; *Sancho Saldaña o El Castellano de Cuéllar*, Madrid, 1914; *Blanca de Borbón*, ed. P. H. Churchman, in *Revue hispanique* (1907), Vol. XVIII. (12) *Producciones escogidas*, Barcelona, 1858. (13) *Poesías religiosas, orientales, caballerescas y amatorias*, Valencia, 1883. (14) *Poesías and Poesías asiáticas*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXIII. (15) *Obras*, ed. A. Ferrer del Río, Madrid, 1867, 6 vols. (16) *Ensayos poéticos*, Madrid, 1840. (17) *Poesías*, Madrid, 1872. (18) *Obras dramáticas y líricas*, ed. M. P. Delgado, Madrid, 1895, 4 vols.; *Obras*, Paris, 1864, 3 vols. (19) *Obras poéticas y literarias* (Colección de los mejores aut. esp., Vols. LVII, LVIII). (20) *Obras*, Madrid, 1883-1884, 5 vols. (21) *Obras poéticas*, Paris, 1866 [incomplete]. (22) Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vols. VI, VIII, XI. (23) *Obras completas*, ed. U. González Serrano, V. Colorado y M. Ordóñez, Madrid, 1901-1903, 8 vols.; *Poesías*, ed. C. Rivas Cherif [Clásicos Castellanos], Madrid, 1921. (24) Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vol. LXIV. (25) *Obras completas de Figaro* (Colección de los mejores aut. esp., Vols. XLVII, XLVIII); *Colección de artículos escogidos*, Barcelona, 1885. (26) *Obras en prosa y verso*, ed. J. R. Lomba y Pedraja, Madrid, n. d. (27) *Obras*, Madrid, 1881. (28) *Escenas andaluzas*, Madrid, 1883. (29) *Obras*, ed. G. Tejado, Madrid, 1854-1855, 5 vols. (30) *Enseñanzas políticas*, ed. M. Alvarez y Morán, Valladolid, 1909; *Obras* Barcelona, 1909.

CHAPTER X

FROM THE END OF ROMANTICISM TO THE FALL OF THE BOURBONS

THOUGH romanticism still lingered as a superfluous force for a few years after 1850, its virtue had departed from it by that date. Some writers of verse also wrote cultivated prose, as, for instance, Gertrudis Gomez de Avellaneda, who went to Spain in 1836; yet it does not follow that any of this romanticism which infected most volumes of verse of the period infiltrated into prose.

That a good many historical novels were written at about this time is no proof of romanticism; it is perhaps more a case of literary atavism, and doubtless derives from Perez de Hita in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The new manifestation indubitably owed much to the influence of Walter Scott, Manzoni, and Victor Hugo. Traces of these influences are discernible in the version of *I Promessi Sposi*, translated from the Italian into Spanish as far back as 1836 by Juan Nicasio Gallego. Before this date attempts at historical novels were made by Larra (see p. 100), by Espronceda (see p. 97), and by Espronceda's friend, Patricio de la Escosura (1). None of these authors had the sense of reality in the same degree as Fernan Caballero (2) (1796-1877) to use the pseudonym—the name of a village in La Mancha—employed by Cecilia Böhl de Faber. It is convenient to call her by her assumed name instead of by one of the four surnames which she actually bore (for she wedded three Spanish husbands in succession). This most Spanish of writers of her generation had for father a Hamburg merchant and was born in Switzerland: she was really a German, and in German her first tale—*Sola, oder Wahrheit und Schein* (1840)—was written. In much the same fashion she composed her first book published in Spain. *La Gaviota* (1849) was drafted in French, and later *La Familia de Alvareda* (1856) was first of all written in German. *La Gaviota* was not only one of the most successful tales of modern times; it was not merely translated times innumerable; it gave the Spanish novel a new start by emphasizing the element of reality. Fernan Caballero was

always on safe ground when she wrote of the Spanish country customs, which she had studied closely: she was less well-informed in dealing with foreign nobles, of whom probably few had come within the horizon of her social experience. She started the 'regional' novel taken up later by Alarcón and Pereda: her presentation of Andalusian manners is a faithful picture of those manners at the time her description was made. Fernan Caballero was always prone to exhorting and to moralizing, and, as time went on, this preaching tendency, encouraged by her readers' taste, grew more and more marked. But at her best she almost always hits the target when she confines herself to writing of what she really knows; as in the *Cuadro de Costumbres* (1862), in which the stories are next to nothing and the fidelity of the picturesque detail is almost all. Her real rival is not to be found in Gertrudis Gomez de Avellaneda, a Cuban writer of rare fervour and gifts, but rather in the dulcet Basque novelist Antonio de Trueba (3) (1820-1889), whose *Cuentos de color de rosa*, and similar groups of stories, struck even Fernan Caballero as too optimistic to be true to life. It is not to be understood that *La Gaviota* dispersed the crowd of historical novelists completely. If any such thing had happened, it would have been a pity: only five or six years before the publication of *La Gaviota* appeared *El Señor de Bembibre* by Espronceda's friend, Enrique Gil y Carrasco (4) (1818-1846), himself no mean poet. *El Señor de Bembibre* is a little too like *The Bride of Lammermoor*; but it excels in imaginative force and picturesque incident, and its excision would impoverish Spanish literature as a whole. A more ductile talent was perhaps that of Francisco Navarro Villoslada (5) (1818-1895), who showed insight and energy of conception in *Doña Blanca de Navarra* (1849), *Cronica del siglo XII* (1848), and in *Doña Urruca de Castilla*, *novela histórica* (1849).

His second novel, which clashed at publication with *La Gaviota*, held out promise of real ability; this praise was not fulfilled, for Navarro Villoslada lost himself in the political labyrinth, wasted his powers on the ephemeral work of propagandism, and only at the very end of his career did it occur to him to produce something more worthy of his subtle talent, as he did in *Amaya o los vascos en el siglo VIII* (1877).

We have already mentioned Gertrudis Gomez de Avellaneda (6) (1814-1873), who made repeated bids for fame as a novelist. She must be judged at her best by her poems and her plays—*Alfonso Nuncio* (1844) and *Baltasar* (1858), not to speak of *Saul* (1849), a work of great dignity and power. As a novelist, she is less notable. In *Sab* (1839) she exposes the evils of slavery, and in *Espatolino* (1844) she re-echoes George Sand's pleas against the structure of society. A little later, Manuel Fernández y González (1821-1888), a copious writer of verses and a dramatist, took to novel-writing and produced such romances as *Men Rodríguez de Sanabria*, *Memorias del tiempo de Pedro el Cruel* (7) (1853), *Martin Gil*, *Memorias del tiempo de Felipe Dos* (1854), *El Cocinero de Su Majestad* (8) (1857). All of Fernández y González's novels are put together with headlong speed, for he had no support save his pen. This rapid production was fatal to correction of style: it was not till later that it was found the gold-mine was exhaustible. Misled by reports of the huge gains made by Fernández y González, a certain number of novelists who were destined to be famous in a later generation now bid for fame in fiction: as premature talents they hurled themselves into the ring. Some of these made a totally false start. Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, for instance, became the author of *El Final de Norma* (1855), in which, avoiding the lowly picaresque tragedies in which he was to win renown, he crammed all the extravagant sentimentalisms which had stamped the exhausted and exhausting novels of romanticism. Pereda was half tempted out of his shell; but he did not seek the appreciation of the general public, and his initial efforts were confined to the columns of country newspapers. Valera, too, tried his hand at *Antonio y Margarita*. This passed unnoticed between February and June of 1861 in the columns of *El Contemporáneo*; but his effort remained incomplete and was uncharacteristic of Valera's talent. With Fernán Caballero and the Avellaneda should be mentioned Concepción Arenal (9) (1820-1893), authoress of *La historia de un corazón* (1881). It was not such a success as might have been expected from her later writings: these are of a philanthropic or jurisprudential character, and show knowledge of facts as well as mastery of system.

A greater poet than the Avellaneda was Gustavo Adolfo

Bécquer (10) (1830-1870). He was, as his name shows, of German descent. Born in Seville, in 1854 he went to Madrid to seek his fortune with his brother Valeriano. The efforts of his friends to place him were frequent; no government post proved available; a reforming minister found Bécquer's humours intolerable. He was already the author of *El Caudillo de las armas rojas* when he reached Madrid. His *Obras* (1870) contain his prose *Leyendas* and his *Rimas*: most of the latter seem to have been written in 1860-1861. In his prose Bécquer draws upon Hoffmann and Grimm, as in his *Rimas* he draws on Heine, Goethe, and Musset. He is reminiscent, nothing more; he has nothing of the deliberate or conscious imitator in his essence; he could not well have, for he does not seem to have been able to read German comfortably. The resemblances, such as they are, are due to general likeness of racial temperament. Bécquer, however, shows no trace of German pessimism in his talent; though his subjects are often pessimistic, his treatment of them is never worse than fantastic; in his *Rimas* he displays a very individual purity of tone, and a sweetness of symbolism that is not distinctively Sevillian (he was already sensitive to music, a German trait rather than a Spanish characteristic).

It does not appear that Bécquer ever sought success on the stage. But that possibility had been exploited by Tomás Rodríguez Rubí (1817-1890), who in 1845 wrote a novel *El hermano de la mar* (11). He was not alone in following the example set by Fernández y González of trying to produce Fernán Caballero's *terre à terre* effects with scenic accessories. *El Tanto por Ciento* (1861) by Adelardo López de Ayala (12) (1829-1879) is an argument in favour of a high moral standard, and *Un hombre de estado* (1851) and *Rioja* (1854) have similar moralizings at the end of them. A like moralizing tendency is noticeable in the dramatic touch of Manuel Tamayo y Baus (13) (1829-1898), a popular playwright for many years before his death. Possibly his best play is *Un drama nuevo* (1867), in which he is so bold as to introduce Shakespeare on the stage. *La bola de nieve* (1856) analyses the criminality of jealousy, and the subject is handled with a certain lightness of manner. The list may be completed by adding the name of Luis de Eguilaz y Eguilaz (1830-1874), whose deft touch is well seen in *La Cruz del Matrimonio* (1861).

Other poets, such as Manuel Cañete (14) (1822-1891), son of the prompter at Seville, wrote *Poesías* (1843) to begin with and then became a dramatist and dramatic critic by profession. In the last capacity he produced a great quantity of hastily improvised prose of a semi-critical character.

The historical novel was patronized by a future prime minister, Antonio Cánovas del Castillo (1828-1897), in *La Campaña de Huesca* (1842), a book written in a monotonous style. Literary criticism has never been the strong point of Spaniards, who are too much disposed to administer *palizas* to their enemies and *bombos* to their friends. But in the criticism of pure learning they have not been backward, and in this special line few figures are more attractive than that of Pedro José Pidal (1779-1865), who, by his editing of primitive texts, displayed greater adroitness than in defending the authenticity of the compilation known as the *Centon Epistolario*, which proves to be a sixteenth-century forgery, due to the perverted ingenuity of Juan Antonio Vera y Vargas, conde de la Roca.

Another figure of light in the learned world was Aureliano Fernández-Guerra y Orbe (15) (1816-1891), who won repute by his incomplete edition (1852-1891) of Quevedo's prose, and became celebrated for his constructive argument in favour of the existence of the rather mysterious poet Torre, edited by Quevedo. At this date Cayetano Rosell (16) (1817-1883) lived at Madrid, a referee in the historical studies which were his speciality. Another scholar of distinction was José Amador de los Ríos (1818-1878), who attracted attention by his *Estudios históricos, políticos y literarios sobre los judíos de España* (1848) and has earned more general praise for his *Historia crítica de la literatura española* (17) (1861-1865), which, though it fills seven volumes, does not go much beyond the period assigned to the formation of the *romances*. Full of information, it is written in a pompous, declamatory style.

We have included in this chapter the name of the Avellaneda. Though not a Spaniard by birth, she came near to being one in thought and sympathy. From her time, moreover, it became common for South American writers to settle in Madrid or near it. This movement naturally increased after the War of Independence in South America. Previous to that event, we have merely to note the casual passage of Spaniards

to America—men like Cortés, Castellanos, Aleman, Diaz del Castillo, and Agustin de Salazar y Torres. Cases like Ruiz de Alarcon's were exceptional. Andrés Bello (18) (1781-1865) is the writer of verses which are entitled *Alocucion a la Poesia* and *Silva a la agricultura en la Zona Tórrida*. This was written in London, where Bello resided in 1823. *La victoria de Junín, canto a Bolívar* was first published by José Joaquín de Olmedo (19) (1780-1847) in 1825 at Guayaquil. As time went on, cases of similar transference became numerous: the Venezuelan Rafael Maria Baralt (20) (1810-1860) was even a member of the Spanish Academy. He and Vega would figure here by unquestioned right: not so other Latin-Americans. Bello and Olmedo were, like Heredia, not Spaniards, and with the exception of Olmedo, who seems to have visited Spain in 1822 or thereabouts, not one of these eminent persons ever set foot in the Peninsula. Apart from a few choleric phrases, José Maria Heredia (21), the Cuban (1803-1839), was not spiritually hostile to Spain: as he was steeped in classic culture, there can be no good reason for omitting him [and with him his companions] from this little book. The situation changed in favour of the overseas people with increased facility of transport, and we shall find that, in the future, South American names occur with some frequency in the provinces of poetry or criticism, of verse or prose.

EDITIONS, &c.

(1) *El Conde de la Candesquina*, Madrid, 1832. (2) *Obras completas*, Madrid, 1893-1910, 12 vols. (3) [Colección de Autores Españoles, Vols. VI, XVIII, XIX, XXVI, XXXIII]; *Cuentos de color de rosa*, Madrid, 1914. (4) *Obras*, Madrid, 1883, 2 vols. (5) *Amaya o los vascos en el siglo VIII*, Madrid, 1879. (6) *Obras literarias*, Madrid, 1869-1871, 5 vols. (7) Madrid, 1851. (8) Madrid, 1857. (9) *Obras completas*, Madrid, 1894-1902, 22 vols. (10) *Obras*, Madrid, 1911. (11) Madrid, 1845. (12) *Obras*, ed. M. Tamayo y Baus, Madrid, 1881-1885, 7 vols. (13) *Obras*, Madrid, 1898-1900, 4 vols. (14) *Poesías*, Granada, 1843. (15) *Obras completas de D. Francisco de Quevedo Villegas*, ed. A. Fernandez-Guerra y Orbe, 1897-1907, 3 vols. (16) *Historia del combate naval de Lepanto*, 1853; Bib. de Aut. Esp., Vols. XVII, XVIII, XXI, XXIX, XXXIII, &c. (17) Madrid, 1861-1865, 7 vols. (18) *Colección de poesías originales*, Paris, 1870; *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, Madrid, 1875; *The Odes of Bello, Olmedo and Heredia*, ed. E. C. Hills [Hispanic Notes and Monographs, III], New York, 1920. (19) See n. 18. (20) *Diccionario de galicismos*, Madrid, 1890; *Letras españolas* (Bib. Andrés Bello, 43), Madrid. (21) See n. 18; *Poesías*, Barcelona, 1840; New York, 1862, 3 vols.

CHAPTER XI

FROM THE FALL OF THE BOURBONS TO THE AMERICAN WAR

IN an earlier chapter we saw (p. 104) that Alarcón and others made false starts as novelists. The youngest of the quartet who were destined to rule the immediate future of fiction was Benito Pérez Galdós (1) (1843-1920). He was also the first to make a bid for celebrity. A Canary-Islander, going to Madrid in 1864 to study law, he drifted into journalism before he became a novelist by profession. Previous to the Restoration, he began the publication of *La Fontana de oro* (1870), which he followed up with *La Sombra* (1870) and *El Audaz* (1871). None of these books was in truth a masterpiece of fiction, yet each testified to the possession by the author of a certain quality of independence, and perhaps prepared the way for *Doña Perfecta* (1876), for *Gloria* (1877), and for *La Familia de Leon Roch* (1878), three novels in which the religious problem, that always interested Pérez Galdós, is discussed. Pérez Galdós, however, is not always a novelist with a thesis to guide him. Consider, for instance, the pathetic and poetical story of *Marianela* (1878). Before this tale saw the light, Pérez Galdós hit upon the *Episodios nacionales* (1873), a kind of prose epic which was destined to reach a fifth series. Naturally the passages in these fifty-six novels are of very unequal merit, but some of the novels have a remarkable interest of their own: *Bailén* (1873), *Zumalacárregui* (1898), *Carlos VI en la Rápita* (1907), and *España trágica* (1909). Not always does Pérez Galdós secure absolute impartiality: he is too good a party man for that, but he is always a shrewd observer, is suggestive in his explanation of motives, puts forth a kind of historical novel in which the author is hampered by too much first-hand knowledge on the part of the generation to which his appeal was made.

This did not exhaust Pérez Galdós's activity as a novelist. He was a keen observer of contemporary peculiarities, as in *El Doctor Centeno* (1883) or in *Fortunata y Jacinta* (1887), where he notes the idiosyncrasies of persons and the in-

dividuality of inanimate things with great exactitude and sense of beauty. In his later years Pérez Galdós outran the limitations of fiction and tried to accommodate himself to the convention of the stage. He made some successes in the theatre with such pieces as *La de San Quintín* (1894), a characteristic rendering of strength and weakness. Yet, on the whole, the ample framework of the novel is more suited to Pérez Galdós's overflowing talent than are the narrower boundaries of the scene.

It was not till about half-way through his long career as a novelist that Pérez Galdós imposed himself on the Spanish public as a writer of fiction. In 1874 both Alarcón and Valera had scored an undoubted success. Alarcón (2) made a hit in the *Revista Europea* with *El Sombrero de tres picos* (1874), a successful picaresque piece of work based on a popular romance (*El Molinero de Arcos*) and on a *sainete* entitled *El Corregidor y la Molinera* (1862). But perhaps the best part of *El Sombrero de tres picos* is the writer's personal contribution—his picture of Andalusian manners, his constant merriment and accipitrine shrewdness of observation, his unfailing malice mingled with his bubbling sense of the innate comicality of things. Nothing that Alarcón did later was ever so good, but he profited by his triumph, and in *El Escándalo* (1875) showed what he could do in the way of turning his jacket. One or two of the *Novelas cortas* (1881-1882) alone deserve to survive, and something may be found to redeem *El Capitán Veneno* from oblivion. But Alarcón is best known by *El Sombrero de tres picos*, and by his mastery of scenic change he will compel us to admire him even against our will.

From his cradle—he was a nephew of the well-known politician and writer, Antonio Maria Alcalá Galiano (1789-1865)—great culture surrounded Juan Valera (3) (1824-1915), who was originally intended for the army. His accompanying the Duke of Rivas to Naples decided his literary career. He had already published his *Ensayos poéticos* (1844) a little earlier; but as he himself tells us, not half a dozen copies had been sold. This could not be represented as popularity, and the sale of *Poestas* (1858) was not much greater. Valera first succeeded as a critic. His standard was classicism, for his taste led him to choose the refinements of conciliatory principles. According to Valera himself, he became a novelist

almost by chance, after a close reading of the mystics. This is the statement which he makes in the dedication to the *Comendador Mendoza* (1877). He refers, of course, to his first and perhaps best story: *Pepita Jiménez* (1874), which by a singular hazard appeared in the same year as Alarcón's semi-picaresque tale. It is from this year that the revival of the analytical Spanish novel takes place. *Pepita Jiménez* was almost too like the tales which immediately succeeded it: *Las Ilusiones del Dr. Faustino* (1875), *El Comendador Mendoza* (1877), and *Doña Luz* (1879). Valera had not infinite invention, and could only relate incidents within his personal knowledge. In his last years, forced by the tooth of poverty, he wrote a series of short stories, such as the delightful *De varios colores* (1898) and its fellows. These do not show the technical perfection of his early work, for Valera had begun to lose his sight and was driven to dictate most of his works. He died while he was composing a tercentenary speech in honour of Cervantes. He had in a degree uncommon with Spanish novelists, the sense of measure, and the only serious defect to be found in his mature work is that much of it resembles too closely what has gone before. Taken all round, Valera is one of the most imposing figures in Spanish literature of the nineteenth century. It is not alone that as a novelist he excelled José María de Pereda (4) (1834-1906), whose field of vision was circumscribed by his native province; but though Pereda's outlook was not very wide, his sight was intense, and the fisherfolk and country people of his stories stand out with a relief not inferior to his pictures of the seas and the hill-sides amidst which he chose to pass his days. Unlike most of his generation, Pereda published no verse, and was able to concentrate himself on the task of recreating his native land and its inhabitants in literature. This he does with singular completeness and felicity. He had the delightful conviction that his lines were cast in the happiest places, that big cities were sinks of corruption, that small villages were Edens of bliss, and that Polanco was one of the best of such abodes of happiness. Hence, perhaps, his reluctance to leave Polanco for any length of time except for one of the escapades to Portugal, or elsewhere, which he made in company with his rival, opponent, and friend, Pérez Galdós. He began by publishing amusing articles in *La Abeja montañesa* in 1859 or

thereabouts, and not till 1864 did he issue a collection of these papers called *Escenas montaÑesas*, with a preface by Antonio de Trueba, who censured the realistic bent of the writer. Pereda's most memorable books are *Sotileza* (1884) and *Peñas arriba* (1895), where the chief figures are vigorous in drawing and admirable in firmness of execution. Pereda was now past forty, and had been (for a Spaniard) slow in arriving; as the most popular novelist in Spain he was acclaimed on the publication of *Sotileza*, and he was not dethroned for some twenty years.

The most recognized poets of this period were José Zorrilla (5) (1817-1893) and Ramón de Campoamor (6) (1819-1901). They were both long past their best. Campoamor had begun life as a romantic poet with a romantic drama: *Una Mujer generosa* (1838). He had not the resounding verbal sonority of his immediate forerunner, but he had a vein of humour which served him well in his *Doloras* (1846), in his *Pequeños Poemas* (1872-73-74), in his *Humoradas* (1886-1888). He was much exposed to imitators, of whom the most successful was Ricardo Gil (1854-1907) in *La Caja de Música* (1898).

Another Spaniard from the north wrote edifying tales, but was perhaps more eminent as a poet than as a novelist. This was Amós de Escalante, a pseudonym for Juan García; in this instance, as in the cases of Tirso de Molina and of 'Azorín', the pseudonym has eclipsed the writer's real name.

As French romanticism crossed the Pyrenees, so naturalism came to Spain from France. It may have been transplanted by Sr. D. Armando Palacio Valdés (7) (b. 1853), who took to story-telling in *El Señorito Octavio* (1881), the charm of which is much inferior to *Marta y María* (1883) and *La Hermana San Sulpicio* (1889). José (1885) is perhaps the most extensively read of Sr. Palacio Valdés's works; it describes the life of fishermen, and has a streak of sentimentalism which attracts a special class of readers. The women in Sr. Palacio Valdés—like Ventura and Cecilia in *El Cuarto Poder* (1888)—are delightful creations, without any equal in modern Spanish novels. *La Espuma* (1890) and *La Fe* (1892) are turning-points in Sr. Palacio Valdés's development: they might be translations from the French. Luckily, Sr. Palacio Valdés turned to the Spanish aspect of his talent in *El Maestrante*

(1893), and since then has steadily worked towards a reconciliation with old-fashioned beliefs in *Los Majos de Cádiz* (1896) and *La Aldea perdida* (1903). He is perhaps the most popular of modern Spanish novelists; his agreeableness and his varied gallery of likenesses and portraits account for this. At the outset he was supported by Emilia Pardo Bazán (1851-1921), who came into note with *La Tribuna* (1882), a daring study of the woman of the people. The naturalistic vein is more emphatic in *Los Pazos de Ulloa* (1886) and *La Madre Naturaleza* (1887); the way up to them is led by *La Cuestion Palpitante* (1886), a plea in favour of outspokenness and candour. Perhaps Emilia Pardo Bazán did not again rise so high in later books, in which she evolved in the same direction as Sr. Palacio Valdés, moving in an orthodox circle, with an aristocratic aim in view. Emilia Pardo Bazán (who was really the Condesa de Pardo Bazán) was credited with the ambition of entering the Spanish Academy. No one of her sex has been considered since the Avellaneda, but Isidora de Guzman y Lacerda made her formal entry as an honorary member on the 28th December 1784. Since the time of Isidora de Guzman, none but Emilia Pardo Bazán has been seriously thought of as suitable for the post. Probably there have been other women more learned than Emilia Pardo Bazán, but there was none more generally capable in intellectual spheres. She wrote as lovingly and vigorously of Galicia as Pereda wrote of Cantabria. Luis Coloma (8) (1851-1915), a Jesuit, sat originally at the feet of Fernán Caballero, obtained ephemeral notice with *Pequeñeces* (1890)—chiefly by caricaturing his old friends—and earned perhaps more durable fame with *Retratos de antaño* (1895), a collection of interesting biographies. The formidable 'Clarín' (Leopoldo Alas, 1852-1901), who worked as a critic with Sr. Palacio Valdés, wrote an interesting imaginative analytical novel entitled *La Regenta* (1884-1885), where he studies closely the false mysticism which causes the downfall of Ana Ozores. This is somewhat in the vein of M. Paul Bourget. So perhaps is some of the novelistic production of Sr. D. Jacinto Octavio Picón (9) (b. 1851), whose analytical talent is shown in *Dulce y sabrosa* (1891). Next follows the younger Juan Ochoa (1864-1899), who under the influence of Alas produced before his premature death *Su amado discípulo* (1894), *Un Alma de Dios* (1898),

and *Los señores de Hermida* (published in 1900), masterpieces in little. Talent was not wanting to another young man, Ángel Ganivet (10) (1865-1898), as he proves in *Los Trabajos del infatigable Creador Pío Cid* (1898) and the *Idearium español* (1896), remarkable for its marked originality of ideas. Ganivet's reputation seems likely to increase with time. Scarcely can the same be said of Ricardo Macías Picavea (11) (1847-1899), whose *La Tierra de Campos* (1897-1898) is, however, a picture of the tawny table-land described.

Two poets, followers of Quintana's, must be mentioned; one is Vicente Wenceslao Querol (1836-1889), who in his *Rimas* (1877) defied authority, but showed himself, on the whole, an observer of tradition. The other was the very celebrated Gaspar Núñez de Arce (12) (1832-1903), who won precocious reputations as a dramatist, ran away from home, became a journalist, and made his way into politics on the liberal side. He became Colonial Minister after the Restoration. He came into universal fame with the *Gritos del Combate* (1875). These are lyrical exhortations to his fellow-citizens to rally to the cause of order. Núñez de Arce was the type of the English Liberal, half-sceptical of positive results. In the *Gritos del Combate* there is a layer of poems which express the writer's doubts: the poem to Darwin and that entitled *Tristezas*: Núñez de Arce is as much a master of perfect form as Leconte de Lisle, but not unnaturally the more he approaches the manner of Leconte de Lisle, the more pessimistic his tone. Even in the *Idilio* (1879) a tragic note is audible amid the more joyous music of the composition. At the last, Núñez de Arce contrived to keep this pessimistic note out of his writings, and was content to let it suffuse his conversation. We cannot be sure whether Núñez de Arce was influenced by real pessimism by doubt, by ill-health, by constant political disillusionment. All these elements may have gone to make up his inspiration; the one thing of which we are certain is that his last work bore the optimistic title of *Sursum Corda* (1900). This fittingly closes the series that began with *Gritos del Combate*. Querol had no imitators. Núñez de Arce, who found himself unable to follow the example set by Rosalía de Castro (1837-1885), the Galician poetess, who in her volume of Castilian poems, *Orillas del Sar* (1884), anticipated some reforms of the new school, had no less than three poets who

modelled themselves on him. José Velarde (1849-1892), who reproduces Núñez de Arce's serenity of tone without his sincerity of emotion; Emilio Ferrari (1850-1907), who aped especially the pomp of Núñez de Arce without his melody; and Manuel Reina (13) (1856-1905), whose scrupulous finish caused him to be called 'the Fortuny of Poetry'. Ventura Ruiz Aguilera (1819-1881) needed a great emotion to save him from the temptations of prose. His *Elegías, Harmonías, Rimas diversas* (1873), show him at his best, though perhaps his *Proverbios Cómicos* (1884) may lead some to doubt whether prose was not his proper vehicle.

Regional and minor poets were, and are, many. Sr. D. Salvador Rueda (b. 1857) represents Andalucía. He seems to have been 'crowned' in 1908 at Albacete. Murcia was represented by Sr. D. Vicente Medina (b. 1866) in *Aires murcianos* (1899) and in a volume entitled *Abonico (Nuevos aires murcianos)* (1917). It was not till later that representatives of other provinces appeared on the scene. Satirical poetry is the characteristic of Manuel del Palacio (1832-1907), a writer of wit, natural and cynical, in *Huelgas diplomáticas* (1886). A country poet of uncommon force of evocation was José Gabriel y Galán (14) (1870-1905), who in his *Castellanas* (1902) displays his gift. Here, as well as elsewhere, may be mentioned Sr. D. Ramón Domingo Perés (b. 1863), a Catalan by residence and a Cuban by birth, who in *Musgo* (1902) and *Cantos modernos* (1889-1893) has substituted a more refined melody for the robustious strains of Castile. It is strange that a new sobriety of colour should be suggested by Latin America, whence we should have expected a proposal for deeper and richer tones. Sr. D. Ramón D. Perés may be regarded as in some sense the predecessor of Rubén Darío (15) (1867-1916), a Nicaraguan poet of exceptional genius, who affected all the new developments of Spanish poetry after he settled at Madrid in 1892. His earliest verses had been composed when he was little more than thirteen. He imitated Zorrilla, Campoamor, Bécquer, and Bartrina in *Epístolas y Poemas* (1885) and *Abrojos* (1887). The imitation extends to Victor Hugo and Núñez de Arce in *Azul* (1888), which was praised, with due reserves, by some Spanish critics of the traditional school. His settlement in Europe caused Darío's tendency to imitate French models to be more pronounced:

this is evident in *Prosas profanas* (1899). There is a tolerably close connexion between the movement produced in the theatre by Sr. D. Jacinto Benavente and the movement in verse headed by Darío. It is, of course, easier to point to the changes of technique introduced into verse by Rubén Darío than to indicate the transformations of method which took place in the theatre. Tamayo y Baus, Lopez de Ayala, Eguilaz, and Echegaray (1832-1916) were not indifferent to the romantic element, however dispersed it might be; some of Echegaray's followers—Sr. D. Leopoldo Cano (b. 1844), the author of *La Mariposa* (1878), and Sr. D. Eugenio Sellés (b. 1844), who wrote *El nudo gordiano* (1878), even José Felíu y Codina (1847-1897), who failed to create a regional theatre with *La Dolores* (1892), *Maria del Carmen* (1896), and *La real moza* (1897), and perhaps Joaquín Dicenta (1816-1897), who applied the romantic formula to workmen in *Juan José* (1895)—are like their leader in this respect, but this was not the case with Sr. D. Jacinto Benavente (1837-1919) (b. 1866). He chose a more excellent way, and in popularity is easily ahead of Sr. D. Manuel Linares Rivas y Astray (b. 1867), who most nearly approaches him in manner and talent, and who has fought his way from the lower ranks of the profession. Benavente had not the ecstasy of Rubén Darío; he was not used to have delicate scales of values for things exceptional in life. His estimates came from reading, but it so happened that Benavente's dramatic studies were wide and embraced both Shakespeare's fantastic pieces and the *chefs-d'œuvre* of the French realistic school. In the *Teatro fantástico* (1892) Benavente presides over the procession of his characters, but his intervention is not opportune. We are told that the personages in *El Marido de la Tellez* (1897) and *La Comida de las Fieras* (1898) are taken straight from real life. It may be so, but we are acquainted with them by their own action, not by the gossip of the spectators. Another characteristic of Benavente's theatre is that one seldom meets the poor in it, nor persons of decidedly Spanish origin. Rubén Darío sometimes goes back to old measures, antique rhythm, and he recovers a great part of their youth. He practised the devices of alliteration, ventured on something very like the *vers libre*, and altered the accent of established rhythms like the alexandrines. Valera saw the possibilities

of the future in *Azul*, and like the slave of classic tradition that he was, warned Darío of the danger which threatened him in verse. Valera perhaps could not foretell the prose developments of the future; could not foresee that the Gallicisms of Rubén Darío had very special justification, and that the hospitable intellectual spirit of the writer would receive with equal readiness the contributions of other languages. Darío's prose has a savour of exoticism which affects his thought and renders his prose less striking than his verse.

Spain has had its fair share of learned investigators. Among these are the long-lived Francisco de Cárdenas (1816-1898), author of an *Historia de la propiedad territorial en España* (1873), the friend of Balmes, José María Quadrado (1818-1896), who, besides the *Recuerdos y bellezas de España* (1884), wrote *Forenses y Ciudadanos* (1847), and General José Gómez de Arceche (1821-1906), who has filled with the result of his researches the fourteen volumes of his *Guerra de la Independencia* (1868-1903). Juan de Dios de la Rada y Delgado (1827-1901) had a great reputation as a numismatist; but his most readable work is, no doubt, the *Viaje de S.S.M.M. los Reyes de España a Portugal* (1883). Valuable contributions to the history of the *literatura aljamiada* were made in a speech (1878) at the Royal Academy by Eduardo de Saavedra (19), (1829-1912); an important chapter on mediaeval domestic history is due to Manuel Danvila (1830-1906), who resumed some of his results in *Germanía de Valencia* (1884); Cesáreo Fernández Duro (1830-1908) published his *Memorias de la ciudad de Zamora, su provincia y su obispado* (1882-1883). On a larger scale worked Eduardo Pérez Pujol (1830-1894), who left his *Historia de las instituciones sociales de la España goda* (1896) unfinished. Provincial history was cultivated by Antonio López Ferreiro (1837-1910) in his *Fueros municipales de Santiago y de su tierra* (1895), and by José Villa-Amil y Castro (1839-1910) in *Antigüedades prehistóricas y célticas de Galicia* (1873). Orientalism was continued after Saavedra by Francisco Fernández y González (1833-1917) in his incomplete *Instituciones jurídicas del Pueblo de Israel en los diferentes Estados de la Península* (1881), and by Francisco Codera y Zaidín (1836-1917), who condescended to the ordinary public in his *Decadencia y Desaparición de los Almoravides en*

España (1899). Two pupils of Codera's are Sr. D. Julián Ribera y Tarragó (b. 1858), author of *Orígenes del Justicia en Aragón* (1897), and Sr. D. Miguel Asín Palacios (b. 1871), whose latest work—*La Escatología en la Divina Comedia* (1919)—is a monograph on the debt of Dante to one aspect of Arabic literature. More hagiographical were most of the studies of the learned Catalan Jesuit, Fidel Fita y Colomé (1835-1917), who is represented to the laity by his *Recuerdos de un viaje a Santiago de Galicia* in 1886. Moreover, we must not forget the versatile or various talent of Joaquín Costa (1844-1911). Costa has had few rivals in Spanish independence and dignity of thought. In *El régimen parlamentario de la práctica* (1885) Gumersindo de Azcárate (1840-1917) argued in favour of a parliamentary system. An expert in legal investigations is Sr. D. Rafael de Ureña y Smenjaud (b. 1852), who has in *La Legislación gótico-hispana* (1905) added to the accumulation of knowledge heaped up by Karl Zeumer. Not one of these writers is a great historian, but their monographs contain stores of material which have been used by later scholars. Room must be found also for the name of Sr. D. Antonio Valbuena (b. 1844), a militant Carlist who entered literature late, with a series of *Ripios Aristocráticos* (1883), signed Venancio González; within a year, under the name of Miguel de Escalada, he criticized the Academy's *Diccionario* almost out of existence, and for some few years Valbuena was the terror of authors. But taste has changed, and with this turn of the tide, Valbuena now runs the risk of being forgotten.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE

- (1) M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *D. B. P. G. considerado como novelista*, in *Estudios de crítica literaria*, Madrid, 1908, pp. 83-127; L. Antón del Olmet y A. García Caraffa, *Galdós*, Madrid, 1911; A. Maura, *D. B. P. G. in Boletín de la Real Academia Española* (1920), Vol. VII, pp. 133-157. (2) E. Pardo Bazán, *Retratos y apuntes literarios* (Obras completas, Vol. XXXII, pp. 117-216; A. Bonilla y San Martín, *Los orígenes de 'El sombrero de tres picos'*, in *Revue hispanique* (1905), Vol. XIII, pp. 5-17; R. Foulché-Delbosc, *D'où dérive 'El sombrero de tres picos'*, in *Revue hispanique* (1908), Vol. XVIII, pp. 468-487. (3) E. Pardo Bazán, *Retratos y apuntes literarios* (Obras completas, Vol. XXXII, pp. 217-280; Conde de Casa-Valencia, *Necrología del Excmo Sr. D. J. V.*, Madrid, 1905; Conde de las Navas, *Don Juan Valera: Apuntes del natural*, Madrid, 1905; *Noticia autobiográfica* (5th January 1863) in *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* (1914), Vol. I, pp. 128-140.

- (4) M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Don José María de Pereda*, in *Estudios de crítica literaria*, 5ª serie, Madrid, 1908, pp. 353-444; *Apuntes para la biografía de Pereda publicados por 'El Diario Montañés'*, el 10 de mayo de 1906, Santander, 1906; B. de Tannenberg, in *Revue hispanique* (1898), Vol. V, pp. 330-364; J. R. Lomba y Pedraja, in *Cultura española* (1906), pp. 711-725; José Montero, *Pereda, Glosas y comentarios de la vida y de los libros del Ingenioso Hidalgo montañés*, Madrid, 1919. (5) E. Cotarelo y Mori, *Centenario del nacimiento de Zorrilla*, in *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* (1917), Vol. IV, pp. 1-22; N. Alonso Cortés, *Zorrilla, su vida y sus obras*, Vols. I-III, Valladolid, 1917; A. de Valbuena, *José Zorrilla, estudio crítico-biográfico*, Madrid, 1889; E. Piñeyro, *El romanticismo en España*, pp. 169-198. (6) E. Pardo Bazán, *Retratos y apuntes literarios* (Obras completas, Vol. XXXII, pp. 5-62); A. González-Blanco, *Campoamor: Biografía y estudio crítico*, Madrid, 1912. (7) H. Peseux-Richard, *Armando Palacio Valdés*, in *Revue hispanique* (1918), Vol. XLII, pp. 305-480. (8) C. Egua Ruiz, *Literaturas y Literatos*, Barcelona, 1917, 2ª serie, pp. 71-197. (9) H. Peseux-Richard, *Un romancier espagnol: J. O. P.*, in *Revue hispanique* (1914), Vol. XXX, pp. 515-585. (10) L. Rouanet, *Angel Ganivet*, in *Revue hispanique* (1898), Vol. V, pp. 483-495; F. Navarro Ledesma, M. de Unamuno, Azorín y C. Román Salamero, *Angel Ganivet*, Valencia, 1905. (11) N. Alonso Cortés, M. P. in *Viejo y nuevo*, Valladolid, 1916, pp. 3-52. (12) C. de Lollis, D. G. N. de A., in *Nueva Antología* (1898), pp. 630-648; J. del Castillo y Soriano, N. de A.; *apuntes para su biografía*, Madrid, 1904; E. Pardo Bazán, *Retratos y apuntes literarios* (Obras completas, Vol. XXXII, pp. 63-82). (13) E. de Ory, *Manuel Reina, Estudio biográfico seguido de numerosas poetas de este autor, no coleccionadas en sus libros*, Cadiz, 1916. (14) E. Pardo Bazán, *Retratos y apuntes literarios* (Obras completas, Vol. XXXII, pp. 82-116). (15) *La vida de Rubén Darío escrita por sí mismo*, Barcelona, 1916; J. E. Rodó, *Cinco Ensayos*, Madrid, 1915; E. de Ory, *Rubén Darío, al margen de su vida y de su muerte*, Cadiz, 1917, P. Henríquez Ureña, *Horas de Estudio*, Paris, pp. 113-137; V. García Calderón, *Los primeros versos de R. D.*, in *Revue hispanique* (1917), Vol. XL, pp. 47-55. (16) A. González-Blanco, *Los dramaturgos españoles contemporáneos*, 1ª serie, Valencia, 1917, pp. 207-294. (17) A. González-Blanco, *Los dramaturgos españoles contemporáneos*, 1ª serie, Valencia, 1917, pp. 27-168; El P. Constancio Eguía Ruiz, *Un dramaturgo en la Academia: D. Jacinto Benavente*, in *Literaturas y Literatos*, 1ª serie, Madrid, 1914, pp. 281-310. (18) M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Prefacio in Quadrado's Ensayos religiosos, políticos y literarios*, 2nd ed., Palma de Mallorca, 1893-1894, 3 vols. (19) E. de Saavedra, *Discurso in Memorias de la Real Academia Española* (1889), Vol. VI, pp. 140-192, 237-328.

CHAPTER XII

FROM 1898 TILL 1921

THERE were in 1898, at the time of the American War, five novelists of note in Spain—Valera, Pereda, Alarcón, Sr. D. Armando Palacio Valdés, and Emilia Pardo Bazán. At the time when the war practically began (21st May 1898) this would be a generous reckoning, for Sr. D. Armando Palacio Valdés and Emilia Bazán at that period had scarcely done more than develop their full literary gifts. A new movement gave them the opening which they needed. Naturalism, crossing the Pyrenees, made converts in Spain. The lady novelist was perhaps the bolder of the two. *Los Pazos de Ulloa* and *La Madre Naturaleza* were earlier and more daring experiments than had hitherto been seen in Spain.

An unexpected imitator of Zola arose in the person of Sr. D. Vicente Blasco Ibáñez (1) (b. 1867), who began his literary career in 1894 with two novels of great picturesqueness, which portray local manners with force and energy. But in the next few years Sr. Blasco Ibáñez suddenly became famous with a curious amalgam of romance with theories of a socialistic character. Up to the present day Sr. Blasco Ibáñez is among the most popular of Spanish novelists. His books are read wherever Spanish is spoken. His own diction is not—so it is alleged—always of the purest, but there is no question as to the truth of the details in his pictures of Valencia and of its common folk. Possibly the fact that he weaves his stories with a web of collectivist action may account for his vogue. But this procedure makes it all the more difficult to describe his work. Does the novel serve its systematic purpose when it is used to convey the case for collectivism? Are not shades of character-drawing lost to us? In *La Catedral* (1908), for example, it may be said that Gabriel Luna is overshadowed by the Toledan Cathedral. A study, cruel in its simple crudeness, deals with a well-known type in *La Maja desnuda*, and with somewhat lighter touch exposes the vulgarities of the bull-ring and its patrons in *Sangre y Arena* (1908). Of later years, Sr. Blasco Ibáñez has grown

somewhat more emphatic in manner, as though he sought to justify the statements made against him.

Sr. D. Vicente Blasco Ibáñez belongs perhaps to the earlier period of naturalism. Not so Sr. D. Ramón del Valle-Inclán (2) (b. 1870), whose curious reminiscences, revealed in his *Sonata* series, include the *Sonata de primavera* (1902), *Sonata del estío*, *Sonata del otoño*, and *Sonata del invierno* (1907). This tendency to preciousness is noticeable also in *Flor de santidad*, *Historia milenaria* (1904), but is less obvious in *La Guerra Carlista* (1908-1909) and in the more recent works of the writer. Sr. D. José Martínez Ruiz (3) (b. 1876), whose family name is completely overshadowed by his pseudonym of 'Azorín', is, more or less, an exact contemporary of Sr. D. Ramón María del Valle-Inclán, whom he also resembles in his care for phrasing. This is manifest in *La Voluntad* (1902), *Antonio Azorín* (1903), and *Las Confesiones de un pequeño filósofo* (1904), the last-named of which is not lacking in points of contact with *Bouvard et Pécuchet*. 'Azorín', however, has a manner of his own; this manner is not likely to display itself fully in novels, which 'Azorín', by the way, is inclined to condemn as an artificial genre. He seems prepared to consecrate his talent to the evocation of historic realities, as in *Los Pueblos* (1900), or to the finesses of literary criticism, as in *Los dos Luises y otros ensayos* (1921); but his path is not yet finally decided.

It would be difficult to give the titles alone of the many books written by Sr. D. Pío Baroja (4) (b. 1872), a writer whose deep-rooted pessimism comes to him, perhaps, from the Basques, from whom he traces his descent. Occasionally, in certain passages at any rate, Sr. Baroja's novels are in the nature of autobiographical reminiscences. He has sometimes a great deal to say of himself, for—as in *La vida fantástica* (1904)—he will pack three volumes with his remarks; but it is hard to say where the autobiographical element begins and where it ends, for with it is entangled the stuff of a psychological novel. As might be expected from so profound an admirer of Dickens as a humorist, the adventures of Mr. Pickwick are well known to Sr. Baroja. He has much of Dickens's visual quality—his power of observation. But he has all Dickens's defects; his exaggeration of vision and of expression, his tendency to employ neologisms, to give words a new meaning. Sr. Baroja's style had admirers for its variety

and force. These are qualities which not every one can discover in Sr. Baroja. Part of his youth was spent in the study of medicine: whence, according to some, comes his adherence to fact. An imaginative sexual obsession may be detected in Felipe Trigo (5) (1868-1917), another doctor who was some years senior to Sr. Baroja, and who took a tint of exoticism perhaps from the close study of Signor D'Annunzio. This is observable in Trigo's early work, *La sed de amar* (1903), and was followed up in *Sor Demonio* (1908). He seemed about to found a school when he was cut off unexpectedly by a violent death. Younger than any of the novelists as yet mentioned, Sr. D. Ricardo León (6) (b. 1877) opened with *Casta de Hidalgos* (1908), in which he gives evidence of great sobriety in an old-fashioned style of beauty, well in keeping with the themes with which he chose to deal. A shade junior to Sr. D. Ricardo León is Sr. D. Gabriel Miró (b. 1879), who reproduces Azorín's human note, and rises in *Figuras de la pasión del Señor* (1919) to heights of sober eloquence. Still younger is Sr. D. Pedro de Répide (b. 1882), a writer who has not surpassed in later stories *Del rastro a maravillas* (1907), the realistic tale which first won him fame. Sr. D. Ricardo León is perhaps the most popular, except Sr. Blasco Ibáñez, of the school of younger novelists; his old-fashioned manipulation never borders on antiquity any more than does the solid handling of Sr. D. Augusto Martínez Olmedilla (b. 1880), who embraces in an orthodox spirit all the questions which he puts before his readers in *La ley de Malthus* (1913), or the old-fashioned system of dealing with social problems by Sr. D. Rafael López de Haro (b. 1887) in *El país de los medianos* (1913), an interesting piece of analysis of character. Three more names must close our list of novelists: Sra. Doña Concha Espina (b. 1877), who in *La Esfingemarangata* (1913) offers a regional tale fragrant with realistic touches, Sr. D. Ramón Pérez de Ayala (b. 1881), and Sr. D. Alberto Insúa (b. 1883), who in *La pata de la raposa* and in *Don Quixote en las Alpes* give respectively much promise as prose-writers in fiction. Sr. D. Ramón Pérez de Ayala, however, attempted verse in *La paz del sendero* (1904-1913), in which he displayed considerable skill, but supremacy in Spanish verse was at the first moment in the hands of Rubén Darío, who, before he died, had rendered Spanish versification more ductile, and had

quite revolutionized the rules of Spanish prosody. Darío's influence is noticeable on such writers as Sr. D. Francisco Villalpessa (b. 1877) in *El jardín de las quimeras* (1909), and even on Sr. D. Juan Ramón Jiménez (7) (b. 1881), who in *Arias Tristes* (1903) displays an immitigable sadness and has in prose—in *Platero y yo* (1916)—almost rivalled the versatility of Darío. In this prose work he adds a touch of humour also which is beyond Darío's attainment. In later poems, such as *Eternidades* (1918) and *Piedra y Cielo* (1919), Sr. Jiménez employs a richer and more varied versification. Sr. D. Antonio Machado (b. 1875) is an original talent, the robust symbolism of which finds expression in *Campos de Castilla* (1912). In technical dexterity Sr. D. Antonio Machado is probably inferior to his elder brother, Sr. D. Manuel Machado (b. 1874), but some readers of the latter's *Caprichos* (1908) have wondered if this poet has more than dexterity to recommend him. He has not the air of refined exquisiteness which informs *La visita del sol* (1907) of his junior, Sr. D. Enrique Díez-Canedo (b. 1879), nor the aesthetic beauty of Sr. D. Pedro García Morales (b. 1880), whose musical sense is conspicuous in *Gérmenes* (1910). The old tradition of sonorous forms has been preserved by Mariano Miguel de Val (1874–1912), still more by Sr. D. Enrique de Mesa (b. 1878) in his *Cancionero castellano* (1911), and most of all by Sr. D. Manuel de Sandoval (b. 1874), who, after following Núñez de Arce in *Aves de paso* (1904), attained fuller mastery of his instrument in *De mi cercano* (1912). The *Constelaciones* (1906) of Sr. D. Enrique López Alarcón (b. 1881) indicate the author's possession of an undoubted, if rather metallic, talent.

Of later Castilian poets, perhaps the greatest promise is manifested by Sr. D. José Moreno Villa (b. 1887), who in *Garba* (1913) combines intensity of emotion and refinement of intelligence with technical skill of no common order. Local poets, who may be classed with Srs. Rueda, Medina, Perés, and Gabriel y Galán, are two Majorcans, Sr. D. Miguel Costa y Llobera (b. 1854), whose orthodox verse has been compared with Carducci's, and Sr. D. Juan Alcover (b. 1854), whose *Meteoros* (1901) combine a religious sentiment with a pagan joy in life.

A younger dramatist than Sr. D. Jacinto Benavente is the Catalan, Sr. D. José de Grau (b. 1877), who in *El Conde de Alarcos* (1917) and *El hijo pródigo* (1918) exhibits new talent

of an original type. Unlike many of the modern dramatists hitherto mentioned, Sr. D. Eduardo Marquina (8) (b. 1879) does not write in prose. He adopts the hexameter from Darío and has fallen back on the substance of the old *Cid* poem for the matter of his play, entitled *Las hijas del Cid* (1908). Still younger is the prose playwright, Sr. D. Gregorio Martínez Sierra (b. 1881), whose *Canción de Cuna* (1911) has about it something half feminine in the delicacy of its portraiture of convent life.

But perhaps the most triumphant successes of the recent stage should be sought in pieces of the *género chico* type—in which a few scenes are put together and are mostly set to easily-remembered airs. Among the likeliest to live of all such compositions is one of the oldest, *La Verbena de la Paloma, o el Boticario y las Chulapas, y Celos mal reprimidos* (1894). The words of this were by Ricardo de la Vega (1839–1910), and the music—no small element in its success—was by Sr. D. Tomás Bretón (b. 1850). Another example of this type of semi-farcical play-music is to be found in Vega's *Pepa la frescachona, o El colegial desenvuelto* (1886). Among recent variants on this model is *El puñado de rosas* (1902); the words are by Sr. D. Carlos Arniches (b. 1886); the music is by Sr. D. Ramón Asensio Mas. Some of these writers of plays, such as Vital Aza (1851–1912), were clearly meant for higher things; for *El Señor Cura* (1890) is packed with rollicking fooling of its kind. Some, like the brothers Sres. D. Serafín (b. 1871) and D. Joaquín Álvarez Quintero (b. 1873), have gradually advanced to the foremost rank from *El ojito derecho* (1897), and in Sr. D. José López Silva (b. 1861) we find that the raw material of pieces has been taken from his books *Los Madriles* (1903), *Chulaperías* (1906), and *Los hijos de Madrid* (1910).

In Rufino José Cuervo (9) (1844–1911), South America gave a great scholar and philologist to the world, as may be judged from his *Apuntaciones sobre el lenguaje Bogotano* (1867) and the unfinished *Diccionario de Construcción y Régimen de la lengua castellana* (1886–1893). Later on, the Cuban Emilio Bobadilla, who is also known as 'Fray Candil' (1867–1921), won reputation as a critic of the old-fashioned slashing school, and in France acquired a greater sense of measure shown in such books as *Viajando por España* (1912). A more pliant talent is that of Sr. D. Enrique Gómez Carrillo (b. 1873),

the Guatemalan author of *Flores de penitencia* (1913) and other analogous works. José Enrique Rodó (10) (1872-1917), a South American who died on one of his numerous journeys to Europe, was a means of placing the Argentine Republic foremost in aesthetic criticism with two books: *Rubén Darío* (1899) and *Ariel* (1904). The group of South Americans would not be complete without the picturesque figure of Sr. D. Rufino Blanco-Fombona (b. 1873), who, after a stormy experience as a politician, poet, and journalist, has found relative peace as a novelist with *El hombre de oro* (1916).

A writer of authentic Spanish origin, though his powers fall short of Azorín's, is Gabriel Alomar (b. 1873), who contributes much to periodicals, and preserves everywhere a sombre sobriety of judgement and a distinction of manner scarcely to be expected from so rapid a worker. Of a later generation is Sr. D. José Ortega y Gasset (11) (b. 1883), who in *Personas, obras, casos* (1916) displays psychological insight with a certain dignity of emotion. Twenty years older is Sr. D. Miguel de Unamuno (b. 1864), whose Basque origin is bespoken by his singular industry: leaving aside his lay-sermons, his most absorbing work is *De mi país* (1903), wherein he describes vigorously the customs of his native province. Considerably junior, Sr. D. Julio Camba (b. 1884), in *Alemania* (1916) and other works, combines shrewd observation with a telling style. Slightly younger is the Peruvian Ventura García Calderón (b. 1886), a master of a rapid Gallicized style, and an expert in learning, as he has shown in editing *Hispania* in Paris. Probably the youngest author included in these pages is Sr. D. Ramón Gómez de la Serna (b. 1890), whose talent is difficult to describe, because of its elusive nature, but whose epigrams in *Greguerías* (1918) compel remembrance of Bacon's remark that 'the Spaniards seem wiser than they are'. Of an older day is Sr. D. Eduardo Gómez de Baquero (b. 1866), who, under the pseudonym of 'Andrenio', has issued a small portion of his critical work under the name of *Novelas y Novelistas* (1918).

Though Spain has had no central body like the Benedictines of France to depend upon for spade-work, she has made progress in the field of learned criticism, thanks to the efforts of individuals. Almost down to our own times, much valuable work was done by Pascual de Gayangos y Arce (1809-1897).

Defective as were some of his publications, they fortunately did not clash with those of the learned Catalan, Manuel Milá y Fontanals (12) (1814-1884), author of the epoch-making book, *Poesía heróico-popular castellana* (1874), and teacher of the eminent Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo (13) (1856-1912), who passed on the torch of learning to Sr. D. Ramón Menéndez Pidal (b. 1869) and to Sr. D. Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín (b. 1875), both members of the Spanish Academy; the former of these is more philological than his master, whose best-known works in this first stage seem to be *La ciencia española* (1876), *Calderón y su teatro* (1881), *La historia de los heterodoxos españoles* (1880-81). Menéndez y Pelayo kindles in presence of a poet, and he was himself a poet upon occasion, as appears from his *Odas, Epístolas y Tragedias* (1883). Even in the *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España* (1883-1891) he refers to poets with exceptional warmth, and one feels that few personalities in the *Antología de poetas hispano-americanos* (1883-1891) have been judged as severely as they might have been, had they not joined poetry to local patriotism. His disciples are more rigid in their practice. Sr. D. Ramón Menéndez Pidal's pupils at the Centro de Estudios históricos may not be encouraged to such exhibitions of independence as Menéndez y Pelayo patronized, and Sr. D. Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín (14) has perhaps too many irons in the fire to be tempted to drop one of them. Neither of Menéndez y Pelayo's chief inheritors has his master's facility for brilliant exposition. Consequently the fame of each will be narrower than his. Possibly they do not regret this. Spanish learning takes more and more a specialistic tinge. This is most noticeable, not in authors like Sr. D. Narciso Alonso Cortés (b. 1873), who expatiates mostly on natives of Valladolid, because he is himself practically a Valisoletano, but in writers who can scarcely have come directly under Menéndez y Pelayo's influence. Sr. D. Francisco Rodríguez Marín (b. 1855), poet and critic, has published the text of the works and the biographies of important figures of the Golden Age, but he is best known as an expert in Cervantist literature. Similarly, Sr. D. Rafael Altamira y Crevea (b. 1866) is an authority on history, as may be gathered from his *Historia de España y de la civilización española* (1900-1911). It is strange that Spanish, perhaps

the most romantic of literatures, should tend to fall partly into the hands of specialists, yet that is the trend of circumstances during the first fifth of the twentieth century. But the vitality of old Spanish literature is undimmed. The Renaissance of Calderon in the work of Hugo von Hofmannsthal speaks for itself.

Much ability in Spain is for economic reasons dispersed in journalism, as happened in the time of Larra. Some of those who have lately deceased have had certain articles collected in the form of books: such as Francisco Flores García (1844-1917), the recent Academician Mariano de Cavia (1855-1921), the Cuban José de Armas y Cárdenas (1866-1920). In journalism proper we may mention Sr. D. Antonio Zozaya (b. 1859), Sr. D. Antonio Palomero (b. 1869), Sr. D. Ramiro de Maeztu (b. 1874), and Sr. D. Luis Araquistáin (b. 1886). But we can venture no further on this controversial ground.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE

- (1) E. Zamacois, *Mis contemporáneos*, I, Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, Madrid, 1910. (2) J. Casares, *Crítica profana*, Madrid, 1916, pp. 17-130. (3) G. Martínez-Sierra, *Motivos*, Paris, pp. 11-18; J. Casares, *Crítica profana*, Madrid, 1916, pp. 133-242; V. García Calderón, *Azorin*, in *La Verbena de Madrid* (undated), pp. 71-86. (4) H. Peseux-Richard, *Un romancier espagnol*, Pio Baroja, in *Revue hispanique* (1910), Vol. XXIII, pp. 109-187. (5) H. Peseux-Richard, *Un romancier espagnol: M. F. T.*, in *Revue hispanique* (1913), Vol. XXVIII, pp. 317-389; A. Reyes, *El Suicida*, Madrid, 1917, pp. 7-16; M. Abril, *Felipe Trigo, Exposición y glosa de su vida, su filosofía, su moral, su arte, su estilo*, Madrid, 1917. (6) J. Casares, *Crítica profana*, Madrid, 1916, pp. 245-348; El Padre Constancio Eguía Ruiz, *La vuelta de los clásicos in Literaturas y Literatos*, 2nd ed., Barcelona, 1917, pp. 3-23; El P. C. Eguía Ruiz, *El clasicismo español y Ricardo León*, in *Literaturas y literatos*, 1ª serie, Madrid, 1914, pp. 311-335. (7) P. Henríquez Ureña, *La obra de J. R. J.*, in *Cuba Contemporánea* (1919), Vol. XIX, pp. 251-263. (8) A. González-Blanco, *Los dramaturgos españoles contemporáneos*, 1ª serie, Valencia, 1917, pp. 297-330. (9) Fray F. Fabo, *R. J. C. y la lengua castellana*, Bogotá, 1912, 3 vols.; J. M. Dihigo, *Rufino José Cuervo, estudio crítico*, Habana, 1912. (10) G. Zaldumbide, *José Enrique Rodó*, in *Revue hispanique* (1918), Vol. XLIII, pp. 205-307. (11) V. García Calderón, *Ortega Gasset y sus 'jóvenes españoles'*, in *La Verbena de Madrid*, Paris (undated), pp. 87-97. (12) J. Rubió y Ors, *Noticia de la vida y escritos de D. M. M. y F.*, Barcelona, 1887; J. Roig y Roqué, *Bibliografía d'En Manuel Milá i Fontanals*, Barcelona, 1913; M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Estudios de crítica literaria*, 5ª serie, Madrid, 1908, pp. 3-81. (13) A. Bonilla

y San Martín, *Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo* (1856-1912), Madrid, 1914; *Revista de Archivos*, &c. [Número dedicado a la memoria de D. M. M. y P.] (July-August 1912); A. Bonilla y San Martín, *La filosofía de M. y P.*, Madrid, 1912; A. Bonilla y San Martín, *La representación de M. y P. en la vida histórica nacional*, Madrid, 1912; A. Antón del Olmet y A. García Carraffa, *Menéndez y Pelayo*, Madrid, 1912; A. González-Blanco, *M. M. y P. (su vida y su obra)*, Madrid, 1912; C. Parpal y Marqués, *M. y P.: historiador de la literatura española*, Barcelona, 1912; J. Hazañas y La Rúa y J. Bores y Lladó, *Discursos en honra de D. M. M. y P.*, Seville, 1912; G. Cedrún de la Pedraja, *La niñez de M. y P.*, Madrid, 1912; El P. C. Eguía Ruiz, *Menéndez y Pelayo considerado como poeta*, in *Literaturas y literatos*, 1ª serie, Madrid, 1914, pp. 205-228; C. Echegaray, *Elogio de Menéndez Pelayo* [sic], in *Revista de la Facultad de Letras y Ciencias* (Universidad de la Habana) (Habana, 1917), Vol. XXX, pp. 193-210. (14) J. A. Galvarriato, *La obra de A. B. y S. M.*, Madrid, 1918.

INDEX

A

Abencerraje y la hermosa Xarifa (*Historia del*), 42.
 Abrabanel (Judas), 33.
 Acosta (José de), 56.
 Acuña (Hernando de), 37.
 Ágreda. *See* Maria Jesus de Ágreda (Sor).
 Aguilar (Gaspar Honorato de), 81.
 Ahmad ibn Muḥammad al-Rāzī of Córdoba, 7.
 Alarcon (Juan). *See* Ruiz de Alarcon y Mendoza (Juan).
 Alarcón (Pedro Antonio de), 103, 104, 108, 109, 110, 119.
 Alas (Leopoldo), 112.
 Alba (second *duque de*), 32, 36.
 Alba (fifth *duque de*), 64.
 Alcalá (Jaime de), 41.
 Alcalá Galiano (Antonio Maria), 109.
 Alcalá Yañez y Ribera (Gerónimo de), 76.
 Alcázar (Baltasar del), 50.
 Alcoyer (Juan), 122.
 Aldrete (Bernardo), 75.
 Aleman (Mateo), 54-55, 107.
 Alexander VI, Pope, 23.
Alexandre (*Libro de*), 5, 12.
 Alfonso V of Aragon, 18, 19.
 Alfonso X, *el Sabio*, of Castile, 6, 7, 10, 11, 25, 44.
 Alfonso XI of Castile, 8, 10, 11.
Alfonso Onceno (*Poema de*), 15, 16.
 Alfonso, Infante of Castile, 31.
Aljamiada (*Literatura*), 10, 116.
 Alomar (Gabriel), 124.
 Alonso Cortés (Narciso), 125.
 Altamira y Crevea (Rafael), 125.
 Álvarez (Miguel de los Santos), 98.
 Álvarez de Cienfuegos (Nicasio), 92.
 Álvarez de Illescas (Alfonso). *See* Álvarez de Villasandino (Alfonso).

Álvarez de Toledo (Gabriel), 88.
 Álvarez de Villasandino (Alfonso), 17, 19.
 Álvarez Gato (Juan), 22.
 Álvarez Quintero (Joaquín), 123.
 Álvarez Quintero (Serafín), 123.
Amadis de Gaula, 16, 27-28, 39, 53, 83.
Anales Toledanos, 5.
 Andújar (Johan de), 20.
 Angulo y Pulgar (Martin de), 86.
 Antonio (Nicolas), 87, 93.
 Añorbe y Corregel (Tomas de), 90.
Appollonio (*Libre de*), 3.
 Araquistáin (Luis), 126.
 Arenal de Garcia Carrasco (Concepcion), 104.
 Aretino (Pietro), 60.
 Argenzola. *See* Leonardo de Argenzola.
 Argote de Molina (Gonzalo), 11.
 Arguijo (Juan de), 71.
 Arias Montano (Benito), 74.
 Ariosto (Ludovico), 50, 64.
 Aristotle, 73, 89.
 Arjona (Juan de), 72.
 Arjona (Manuel Maria de), 95.
 Armas (José de), 126.
 Arniches (Carlos), 123.
 Arolas (Juan), 97.
 'Artemidoro.' *See* Rey de Artieda (Andrés).
 Asensio Mas (Ramón), 123.
 Asín Palacios (Miguel), 117.
 Avellaneda (Alfonso). *See* Fernandez de Avellaneda (Alonso).
 Avellaneda (Gertrudis de). *See* Gomez de Avellaneda y Arteaga (Maria Gertrudis de los Dolores).
 Avendaño (Francisco de), 34.
 Ávila (Juan de), 42-43.
 Ávila y Zúñiga (Luis de), 45.
Ay panadera! (*Coplas de*), 22.
 Aza (Vital), 123.

- Azcárate (Gumersindo de), 117.
 Azevedo (Alonso de), 72.
 'Azorín.' See Martínez Ruiz
 (José).

B

- Bacon (Francis, Lord Verulam),
 124.
 Baena (Juan Alfonso de), 19, 21.
 Balbuena (Bernardo de), 72, 73.
 Balmes y Uspia (Jaime Luciano),
 101, 116.
 Bances y Lopez Candamo (Francisco Antonio de), 85.
 Barahona de Soto (Luis), 50.
 Baralt (Rafael Maria), 107.
 Baroja (Pío), 120-121.
 Bartrina (Joaquin Maria), 114.
Bataille de Karesme et de Charnage,
 12.
 Bécquer (Gustavo Adolfo), 104-
 105, 114.
 Bello (Andrés), 107.
 Bembo (Pietro), 36.
 Benavente (Jacinto), 115, 122.
 Benavente (Luis). See Quiñones
 de Benavente (Luis).
 Berceo (Gonzalo de), 4-5, 6.
 Berçuire (Pierre), 14.
 Bermudez (Gerónimo), 57.
 Bermudez de Castro (Salvador),
 97-98.
 Bernaldez (Andrés), 29.
 Berners (John Bouchier, Lord),
 27.
 Blanco-Fombona (Rufino), 124.
 Blanco White (José Maria), 95.
 Blasco Ibáñez (Vicente), 119-120,
 121.
 Bobadilla (Emilio), 123.
Bocados de Oro, 6.
 Boccaccio, 13, 18, 31, 35.
 Boethius, 72.
 Böhl de Faber (Juan Nicolas), 95,
 99.
 Boiardo (Matteo Maria), 37.
 Boileau (Nicolas), 89.
 Bonilla (Alonso de), 76.
 Bonilla y San Martín (Adolfo), 60,
 125.
 Borja (Francisco de), 75.

- Borrow (George), 65.
 Boscan Almogaver (Juan), 35-36,
 37, 38, 48.
 Bourget (Paul), 112.
 Boyl Vives de Canesmas (Carlos),
 81.
 Breton (Tomás), 123.
 Breton de los Herreros (Manuel),
 98.
 Bridges (Robert), 84.
 Buelna (*conde de*). See Niño
 (Pero).
 Burke (Edmund), 40.
 Byron (George Gordon Noel, lord),
 26, 97, 99.

C

- 'Caballero (Fernan),' 95, 102-103,
 104, 105, 112.
 'Caballero Cesáreo (El),' 25, 44.
 Cabanyes (Manuel de), 97.
 'Cabrera (Claudio Antonio de).'
 See Saavedra Faxardo (Diego).
 Cabrera de Córdoba (Luis), 74.
 Cabrerizo (Mariano), 95.
 Cadalso y Vazquez (Josef), 89-90,
 92.
 Caesar (Julius), 45.
 Calderon de la Barca Henao de la
 Barreda y Riaño (Pedro), 33,
 65, 66, 68, 69, 81-84, 85, 86,
 89, 91, 97.
Calisto y Melibea (*Comedia de*).
 See *Celestina* (*La*).
 Camba (Julio), 124.
 Camões (Luis de), 24.
 Campoamor y Campoosorio (Re-
 món de), 99, 111, 114.
 Cáncer y Velasco (Gerónimo de),
 84.
Cancion real a vna mudanza, 70,
 79.
Cancionero de Baena, 14, 16, 19.
Cancionero de Fernandez de Co-
stantina, 24.
Cancionero general [de Hernando
 del Castillo], 24.
 Cánovas del Castillo (Antonio),
 106.
 Cano y Masas (Leopoldo), 115.
Cantar de mio Cid, 2, 15.

- Cantar de Rodrigo*, 15, 16.
Canzoniere portoghese della Biblioteca Vaticana, 10.
 Cañete (Manuel), 106.
 Cañizares (José de), 88.
 Caporali (Cesare), 61.
 Cárdenas (Francisco de), 116.
 Carducci (Giosuè), 122.
 Caro (Rodrigo), 75.
 Carolingian cycle [*romances* about], 26.
 Carpio (Bernardo del) [*romances* about], 2, 25.
 Carvajal, 19-20, 21, 24.
 Carvajal (Micael de), 34, 40.
 Casas (Bartolomé de las), 43-44.
 Cascales (Francisco), 86.
 Castellanos (Juan de), 51, 107.
 Castiglione (Baltasar), 35.
Castigos e Documentos (Libro de), 8.
 Castillejo (Cristóbal de), 37-38.
 Castillo (Hernando de). See *Cancionero general*.
 Castillo Solórzano (Alonso de), 77.
 Castro (Leon de), 74.
 Castro (Rosalia de), 113.
 Castro y Bellvis (Guillen de), 70.
 Catholic Kings, the, 23, 24.
 Catullus, 38.
 Cavia (Mariano de), 126.
Celestina (La), 13, 27, 34.
Centon Epistolario. See *Vera y Vargas*.
 Cepeda y Ahumada (Teresa de). See *Teresa de Jesus (Santa)*.
 Cerdan y Heredia (Beatriz), 54.
 Cervantes de Salazar (Francisco), 39.
 Cervantes Saavedra (Miguel de), 11, 26, 28, 34, 35, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 50, 51, 52, 54, 55, 57, 59-63, 64, 65, 71, 76, 90, 91, 93, 110.
 Céspedes y Meneses (Gonzalo de), 74.
 Cetina (Gutierrez de), 37.
 Charles II, of Spain, 71, 86, 88.
 Charles V, of Spain, 31, 35, 37, 39, 43, 44, 45, 71.
 Chartier (Alain), 18.
 Chateaubriand (François René de), 26, 54.
 Chaucer (Geoffrey), 12, 62.
 Chorley (John Rutter), 61.
Cifar (El caballero), 10, 11.
 Claramonte y Corroy (Andrés de), 66.
 'Clarín.' See *Alas (Leopoldo)*.
 Clavijo (Ruy). See *Gonzalez de Clavijo (Ruy)*.
 Codera y Zaidín (Francisco), 116.
 Coello (Antonio), 84.
 Coloma (Luis), 112.
 Colon (Cristóbal), 28-29, 50.
 Colonna (Aegidius), 8.
 Colonne (Guido delle), 13.
 Columbus. See *Colon (Cristóbal)*.
 Comella (Luciano Francisco), 92-93.
 Concepcion (Juan de la), 89.
 Conn (George), 65.
Conquista de Ultramar (Gran), 8.
 Corneille (Pierre), 16, 70, 85.
 Corneille (Thomas), 84.
 Coronel Arana (Maria). See *Maria de Jesus de Ágreda (Sor)*.
 Corral (Pedro de), 21, 25.
 Correas (Gonzalo), 45, 56.
 Cortés (Hernando), 26, 44, 107.
 Cortés (Juan Lucas), 86.
 Costa (Joaquín), 117.
 Costa y Llobera (Miguel), 122.
 Cota de Maguaque (Rodrigo), 26-27.
Cronica general, 2, 7, 8, 23, 44.
Cronica general (segunda), 7, 10, 15.
Cronica general (tercera), 7.
Cronica rimada, 3.
 Cross (St. John of the). See *Cruz (San Juan de la)*.
 Cruesen (Nicolas), 48.
 Cruz (San Juan de la), 53.
 Cruz y Cano (Ramon de la), 91-92.
 Cuervo (Rufino José), 123.
 Cueva de Garoza (Juan de la), 56-57, 66.

D

- D'Annunzio (Gabriele), 121.
 Dante, 18, 19, 20, 26, 31, 63, 117.
 Danvila y Collado (Manuel), 116.

Danza de la Muerte, 15, 20.
 Darío (Rubén), 114-115, 116, 121, 122.
 Darwin (Charles Robert), 113.
 Delicado (Francisco), 41.
Denuestos del agua y el vino, 4.
 Diamante (Juan Bautista), 84-85.
Diario de los literatos de España, 89.
 Díaz (Juan), 39.
 Díaz (Nicomedes Pastor), 97.
 Díaz de Bivar (Ruy), 2 [*romances about*], 25.
 Díaz de Callecerrada (Marcelo), 73.
 Díaz del Castillo (Bernal), 26, 44, 107.
 Díaz Tanco de Frexenal (Vasco), 34.
 Dicenta (Joaquín), 115.
 Dickens (Charles), 120.
 Diderot (Denis), 92.
 Díez-Canedo (Enrique), 122.
 Díez de Games (Gutierre), 21.
 Dieze (Johann Andreas), 91.
 Dios de la Rada y Delgado (Juan de), 116.
Disputa del Alma y el Cuerpo, 4.
Disputoison du vin et de l'iaue, 4.
Doctrina de la discriçion, 15.
 Dolce (Ludovico), 57.
 Donoso Cortés (Juan Francisco Manuel Maria de la Salud), *marqués de Valdegamas*, 100-101.
 D'Ouville (Antoine Le Métel), 84.
 Drake (Sir Francis), 64.
 Dryden (John), 84.
 Ducis (Jean-François), 91.

E

Echegaray (José), 115.
 Eguilaz y Eguilaz (Luis de), 105, 115.
Elche (the mystery of), 68.
Elena y Maria, 5.
Engaños e los assayamientos de las mugeres (*Libro de*), 8.
 Enriquez del Castillo (Diego), 23.
 Enriquez de Paz (Enrique), 77.
 Enriquez Gomez (Antonio). *See* Enriquez de Paz (Enrique).

Enzina (Juan del), 31-32, 33, 34, 68.
 Erasmus (Desiderius), 33.
 Ercilla y Zúñiga (Alonso de), 51.
 Escalante y Prieto (Amós de), 111.
 Escosura (Patricio de), 102.
 Esquivá (El Comendador Joan), 26.
Espanna (*Estoria d'*), 7.
 Espina (Concha), 121.
 Espinel (Vicente Martinez). *See* Martinez Espinel (Vicente).
 Espinosa (Pedro), 85.
 Espinosa Medrano (Juan de), 85.
 Espronceda y Lara (José Ignacio Xavier Oriol Encarnacion de), 96-97, 98, 99, 102, 103.
 Estébanez Calderon (Serafin), 100.
Estebanillo Gonzalez, hombre de buen humor (*Vida y hechos de*), 76.
Estoria, Grande et general, 7.
 Euripides, 38.
 Ezquerria de Rozas (Gerónimo).
See San Josef (Gerónimo de).

F

Fadrique (El Infante don), 8.
 Fazio (Bartolommeo), 23.
 Feliu y Codina (José), 115.
 Fénelon (François de Salignac de la Mothe), 53.
 Ferdinand III, 2, 6.
 Ferdinand IV, 11.
 Fernandez (Alonso), 61.
 Fernandez de Andrada (Andrés), 75.
 Fernandez de Avellaneda (Alonso), 61.
 Fernandez de Moratin (Leandro Antonio Eulogio Meliton), the younger, 92-93, 95, 96.
 Fernandez de Moratin (Nicolas Martin), the elder, 89.
 Fernandez de Palencia (Alfonso), 23, 31.
 Fernandez de San Pedro (Diego), 27.
 Fernández Duro (Cesáreo), 116.
 Fernández-Guerra y Orbe (Aureliano), 106.

Fernández y Gonzalez (Francisco), 116.
 Fernández y Gonzalez (Manuel), 104, 105.
 Ferrandes (Pero). *See* Ferruz (Pero).
 Ferrandes de Gerena (Garci), 16.
 Ferrari (Emilio), 114.
 Ferreira (Antonio), 57.
 Ferruz (Pero), 16, 27.
 Ferruz (Juan Jaime), 56.
 Feyjoo y Montenegro (Benito Gerónimo), 90.
 Figueroa (Francisco de), 50.
 Figueroa y Córdoba (Diego Ferrnando de), 84.
 Figueroa y Córdoba (José de), 84.
 Fita y Colomé (Fidel), 117.
 Flecker, James Elroy, 26.
 Fletcher (John), 70, 74.
 Floranes Velez de Robles y Encinas (Rafael de), 93.
Flores de Filosofia, 6.
 Flores García (Francisco), 126.
 Florez (Enrique), 93.
 Folengo (Teófilo), 62, 72.
 Forner (Juan Bautista Pablo), 90.
Forum Judicum, 6.
 Fox Morcillo (Sebastian), 56.
 Franchi (Fabio), 67.
 'Fray Candil.' *See* Bobadilla (Emilio).
 Frere (John Hookham), 26.
Fuero Juzgo, 6.

G

Gabriel y Galán (José María), 114, 122.
 Galindez de Carvajal (Lorenzo), 22.
 Gallardo (Bartolomé José), 72.
 Gallego (Juan Nicasio), 95, 102.
 Galvez de Montalvo (Luis), 52.
 Ganivet (Ángel), 113.
 García Calderón (Ventura), 124.
 García de Castrogeriz (Juan), 8.
 García de la Huerta y Muñoz (Vicente Antonio), 90.
 García de Quevedo (José Heriberto), 98.
 García de Santa María (Alvar), 22.

García Gutierrez (Antonio), 96.
 García Morales (Pedro), 122.
 García Sarmiento (Felix Rubén). *See* Darío (Rubén).
 García y Tassara (Gabriel), 98.
 Garcilasso. *See* Lasso de la Vega (Garci).
 Gareth (Benedetto), 33.
Garin le Loherain, 2.
Gatos (Libro de los). *See* *Quētos (Libro de los)*.
 Gautier (Théophile), 16, 25.
 Gautier de Coinci, 5.
 Gayangos y Arce (Pascual de), 124-125.
 Gelves (*condesa de*), 50.
 Gentil (Berthomeu), 33.
 Ghazālī, Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad, 22.
 Gil (Ricardo), 111.
 Gil Polo. *See* Polo (Gaspar Gil).
 Gil y Carrasco (Enrique), 103.
 Gil y Zárate (Antonio), 96.
 Giron (Diego), 56.
 Goethe (Johann Wolfgang von), 63, 105.
 Gomez (Pascual o Pero), 8.
 Gómez Carrillo (Enrique), 123-124.
 Gómez de Arteche (José), 116.
 Gomez de Avellaneda y Arteaga (Maria Gertrudis de los Dolores), 102, 103, 104, 106, 112.
 Gómez de Baquero (Eduardo), 124.
 Gomez de Quevedo y Villegas (Francisco), 18, 49, 50, 76, 77, 91, 97, 106.
 Gómez de la Serna (Ramón), 124.
 Gomez Hermosilla (Josef), 96.
 Góngora (Luis de), 49, 70-71, 78, 85, 86, 89.
 Gonzalez (Diego Tadeo), 89, 92.
Gonzalez (Poema de Fernan), 5.
 Gonzalez (Fernan) [*romances about*], 2, 25.
 Gonzalez de Clavijo (Ruy), 20-21.
 Gonzalez del Castillo (Juan Ignacio), 92.
 Gonzalez de Salas (Jusepe Antonio), 73.
 Gower (John), 3.
 Goya y Lucientes (Francisco), 92.

'Gracian Infanzon (Lorenzo).'
See Gracian y Morales (Baltasar).
Gracian y Morales (Baltasar), 76,
77-78.

Granada (Luis de), 53.
Granson (Othon de), 18.
Gau (José de), 122.
Grimm (Jacob), 105.
Guardo (Juana de), 64, 65.
Güete (Jayme de), 34.
Guevara (Antonio de), 39, 43.
Guevara (Luis de). See Velez de
Guevara (Luis).
Guillen de Segovia (Pero), 22.
Guizot (François), 101.
Guzman (Fray Domingo de), 49.
Guzman y Lacerda (Isidora de),
112.

H

Handel (George Frederick), 40.
Haro (Luis de), 38.
Hartzenbusch (Juan Eugenio), 18,
57, 96.
Heine (Heinrich), 105.
Henry II, of Castile, 13, 14.
Henry III, of Castile, 14, 16.
Henry IV, of Castile, 22, 23.
Henry of Navarre, 28.
Henry VIII, of England, 43.
Herberay des Essarts (Nicolas de),
28.
Heredia (José-Maria de), *Cuban
poet*, 107.
Heredia (José-Maria de), *French
poet*, 16, 44.
Hernandez (Alonso), 33.
Hernandez de Ayala (Roque), 65.
Hernandez de Oviedo y Valdés
(Gonzalo), 43.
Hernault de Beaulande, 5.
Herrera (Fernando de), 50, 70.
'Herrera de Jaspados (Hugo).'
See Hervás y Cobo de la Torre
(José Gerardo de).
Hervas y Cobo de la Torre (José
Gerardo de), 89.
Hervas y Panduro (Lorenzo), 93.
Hoffmann (Ernst Theodor Wil-
helm), 105.
Hojeda (Diego de), 72.

Homer, 89.
Horozco (Sebastian de), 35, 41, 45.
Hoz y Mota (Juan Claudio de la),
85.
Huarte de Sant Juan (Juan), 56.
Hugo (Victor), 16, 25, 102, 114.
Hurtado (Luis), 40.
Hurtado de Mendoza (Antonio),
70.
Hurtado de Mendoza (Diego). See
Mendoza (Diego Hurtado de).
Hurtado de Mendoza (Garcia), 51.

I

Ibáñez de Segovia Peralta y Men-
doza (Gaspar). See Mondéjar
(marqués de).
Iglesias (Juan de), 92.
Ignatius of Loyola (St.), 28, 52.
Ildefonso (Vida de San), 10.
Imperial (Francisco), 19.
Insúa (Alberto), 121.
Iriarte y Oropesa (Tomas de),
90.
Isabel, Queen of Castile, 31.
Isidore (St.) of Madrid, 65, 69.
Isidore (St.) of Seville, 22.
'Is-salp' (Joaquin Federico). See
Isla (Josef Francisco de).
Isla (Josef Francisco de), 91.

J

Jáuregui (Juan Martinez de), 71.
Jiménez (Juan Ramón), 122.
John I, of Castile, 14.
John II, of Castile, 19, 20, 22.
John of Austria (don), 50, 51.
Johnson (Samuel), 41.
José (Historia de, or Poema de).
See *Yüçuf (Historia de)*.
Josephus, 36.
Jovellanos (Gaspar Melchor de),
92.
Juana Inés de la Cruz (Sor), 85.
Juan Manuel (El Infante don), 7,
11.
Jugement d'Amour (Le), 5.
Julius III (Pope), 36.

K

- Kalilah and Dinnah*, 6.
Kostka (Stanislaus). *See* Stanislaus Kostka (St.).

L

- Lafayette (Marie-Madeleine de), 54.
Lando (Ferrant Manuel de), 19.
Lara (*Cantar de los Infantes de*), 3, [romances about], 25.
La Rochefoucauld (François, *duc de*), 78.
Larra (Mariano Josef de), 98, 100, 102, 126.
Lasso de la Vega (Garcí), 35-36, 37, 38, 43, 48, 49, 50, 53.
Lasso de la Vega (Garcí), *el Inca*, 74.
Latini (Brunetto), 8.
Lazarillo de Tormes (*La vida de*), 13, 41-42, 54.
Lebrixa (Antonio de), 31.
Leconte de Lisle (Charles-Marie), 16, 25, 113.
Ledesma Buitrago (Alonso de), 76.
Leon Hebreo. *See* Abrabanel (Judas).
Leon (Luis de), 24, 48-49, 53, 58, 93.
Leonardo de Argensola (Bartolomé), 70-71.
Leonardo de Argensola (Lupercio), 57, 70-71.
León y Román (Ricardo), 121.
Le Sage (Alain-René), 61, 69, 77, 84.
'Libertino (Clemente).' *See* Mello (Francisco Manuel de).
Linares Rivas y Astray (Manuel), 115.
Liñan y Verdugo (Antonio), 76.
Lista y Aragon (Alberto), 95, 96.
Livy, 13.
Loaysa (Jofré de), 7.
Lobo (Eugenio Gerardo), 88.
Lobon de Salazar (Francisco), 91.
Lope de Vega. *See* Vega Carpio (Lope Felix de).
Lopez (Alonso), *el Pinciano*, 73.

- López Alarcón (Enrique), 122.
Lopez de Ayala (Adelardo), 105, 115.
Lopez de Ayala (Pero), 13-14, 15, 16, 18, 28, 93.
Lopez de Gómara (Francisco), 44.
López de Haro (Rafael), 121.
Lope de Mendoza (Iñigo). *See* Santillana (*marqués de*).
Lopez de Úbeda (Juan), 72.
Lopez de Villalobos (Francisco). *See* Villalobos (Francisco Lopez de).
Lopez de Yanguas (Hernán), 33.
López Ferreiro (Antonio), 116.
Lopez Maldonado (Gabriel), 50.
Lopez Pinciano (Alonso). *See* Lopez (Alonso).
López Silva (José), 123.
Louis XIV, of France, 88.
Lucan, 71.
Lucena (Juan de), 23.
Lucian, 43, 56.
Lugo y Davila (Francisco de), 77.
Luis Gonzaga (St.), 88.
Luna (Álvaro de), 19, 24.
Luna (*Cronica de Don Alvaro de*), 22.
Luna (Miguel de), 25.
Luxan (Pedro de), 40.
Luxan de Sayavedra (Matheo), 54.
Luzan Claramunt de Suelves y Gurrea (Ignacio de), 89, 90.

M

- Macaulay (Thomas Babington, Lord), 91.
Machado (Antonio), 122.
Machado (Manuel), 122.
Machault (Guillaume de), 18.
Machiavelli (Niccolò), 75.
Macias, *o Namorado*, 16.
Macias Picavea (Ricardo), 113.
Maeztu (Ramiro de), 126.
Magos (*Auto de los Reyes*), 4, 31.
Maldonado (Lopez). *See* Lopez Maldonado (Gabriel).
Mal Lara (Juan de), 45, 56.
Malon de Chaide (Pedro), 54.
Mancha (Teresa), 97.
Mandamientos (*Los diez*), 5.

- Manrique (Gomez), 22, 31.
 Manrique (Jorge), 19, 23-24.
 Mantuano (Pedro), 74.
 Manuel de Lando (Ferrant). *See*
 Lando (Ferrant Manuel de).
 Manuel de Mello. *See* Mello
 (Francisco Manuel de).
 Manzoni (Alessandro), 102.
 Marche (Olivier de la), 37.
 Marchena (José), 53, 92.
 Maria Jesus de Ágreda (Sor), 86.
Maria Egipcíacua (Vida de Santa),
 4.
 Mariana (Juan de), 7, 65, 73-74.
 Marlowe (Christopher), 45.
 Marquez (Juan), 75.
 Marquina (Eduardo), 123.
 Martí (Juan José), 55.
 Martínez (Marcos), 41.
 Martínez de la Rosa (Francisco de
 Paula Jerónimo Meliton Manuel
 Josef Maria del Carmen), 95-96.
 Martínez de Medina (Gonzalo), 19.
 Martínez de Toledo (Alfonso), 22.
 Martínez Espinel (Vicente), 76.
 Martínez Marina (Francisco), 99.
 Martínez Olmedilla (Augusto), 121.
 Martínez Ruiz (José), 111, 120, 121,
 124.
 Martínez Sierra (Gregorio), 123.
 Masdeu (Juan Francisco de), 93.
 Matos Fragoso (Juan de), 84.
 Maximilian (Emperor), 45.
 Mayans y Siscar (Gregorio), 93.
 Medina (Francisco de), 50.
 Medina (Vicente), 114, 122.
 Melendez Valdés (Juan), 92, 95, 96.
 Mello (Francisco Manuel de), 73.
 Mena (Gonzalo de), 13.
 Mena (Juan de), 20, 24, 26, 27.
 Mendoza (Diego Hurtado de), 36-
 37, 38, 53, 55.
 Mendoza (Fray Iñigo de), 26.
 Menéndez Pidal (Ramón), 3, 125.
 Menéndez y Pelayo (Marcelino),
 125.
 Mesa (Cristóbal de), 72.
 Mesa (Enrique de), 122.
 Mesonero Romanos (Ramon de),
 100.
 Mexia (Pero), 25, 44-45.
 Milá y Fontanals (Manuel), 125.
Mingo Revulgo (Coplas de), 23.
 Mira de Amescua (Antonio), 70,
 82, 84.
 Miranda (Luis de), 35.
 Miró (Gabriel), 121.
Miseria del omne (Libro de la), 14.
 Molière (Jean-Baptiste Poquelin
 de), 67, 70, 84, 88, 92.
 Molina (Luis de), 60.
 Molinos (Miguel de), 86.
 Moncada (Francisco de), 73.
 Moncayo y Gurrea (Juan), 86.
 Mondéjar (Marqués de), 86, 93.
 Montaigne (Michel de), 33, 39.
 Montalvan (Juan). *See* Perez de
 Montalvan (Juan).
 Montalvo. *See* Galvez de Montal-
 vo (Luis).
 Montemayor (Jorge de), 24, 42, 52.
 Monteser (Francisco Antonio de),
 84.
 Montesino (Bishop Ambrosio), 26.
 Montesquieu (Charles de Secon-
 dat), *baron de*, 59.
 Montfleury (Antoine Jacob), 69.
 Montiano y Luyando (Agustin
 Gabriel de), 91.
 Montoro (Anton de), 22.
 Mora (José Joaquin de), 95, 98-99.
 Moraes Cabral (Francisco de), 40.
 Morales (Ambrosio de), 55.
 Moratin. *See* Fernandez de Mora-
 tin.
 Moreno Villa (José), 122.
 Moreto y Cavana (Agustin), 84.
 Moros (Lope de), 4.
 Mozart (J. C. Wolfgang Amadeus),
 69.
 Muntaner (Ramon), 73.
 Muñoz (Juan Bautista), 93.
 Musset (Alfred de), 105.
 N
 Naharro (Pedro). *See* Navarro
 (Pedro).
 Nasarre y Ferruz (Blas Antonio),
 90-91, 93.
 Natas (Francisco de las), 34.
 Navagiero (Andrea), 35, 38.
 Navarro (Pedro), 35.

Navarro Villoslada (Francisco), 103.
 Nebrixa (Antonio). *See* Lebrixa (Antonio de).
 Negueruela (Diego de), 35.
 Nerval (Gerard de), 93.
 Nevaes Santoyo (Martade), 65, 68.
 Niño (Pero), *conde de* Buelna, 21.
 Noroña (Gaspar Maria de Nava Álvarez, *conde de*), 92, 97.
 Núñez de Arce (Gaspar Esteban), 113, 114, 122.
 Núñez de Toledo (Hernan), 45.

O

Ocampo (Florian de), 7, 44, 55.
 Ocaña (Francisco de), 72.
 Ochoa (Juan), 112.
 Odo of Cheriton, 18.
 Olmedo (José Joaquín de), 107.
 Oña (Pedro de), 51.
 Ortega y Gasset (José), 124.
 Ortiz (Agustin), 34.
 Ortóñez de Calahorra (Diego), 41.
 Osorio (Elena), 64.
 Ovid, 12, 37, 56.
 Oviedo (Gonzalo). *See* Hernandez de Oviedo (Gonzalo).

P

Padilla (Juan de), 26.
 Padron (Rodriguez del). *See* Cámara (Rodriguez de la).
 Paez de Ribera (Ruy), 19.
 Palacio (Manuel del), 114.
 Palacio Valdés (Armando), 111-112, 119.
 Palau (Bartolomé), 34.
 Palencia (Alfonso de). *See* Fernandez de Palencia (Alfonso).
 Palmerin de Inglaterra. *See* Moraes Cabral (Francisco).
 Palomero (Antonio), 126.
 Paravicino y Arteaga (Hortensio Felix), 71, 81.
 Pardo Bazán (*condesa de*), 112, 119.
 Paredes (Alonso de), 8.
 Partidas (*Las siete*), 6, 7.
 Pastor Diaz (Nicomedes). *See* Diaz (Nicomedes Pastor).
 'Paz (Enrique de).' *See* Enriquez Gomez (Antonio).

Pedraza (Juan de), 34.
 Pedro (Dom), 24.
 Pellicer de Salas y Tovar (Josef), 85-86.
 Pepys (Samuel), 84.
 Per Abbat, 2.
 'Perales y Torres (Isidro).' *See* Nasarre y Ferruz (Blas de).
 Perálvarez de Ayllon, 40.
 Percy (Bishop), 26.
 Pereda (José María de), 103, 104, 110-111, 112, 119.
 Pereira (Gomez), 56.
 Pérès (Ramón Domingo), 114, 122.
 Perez (Alonso), 52.
 Perez (Antonio), 73.
 Perez Bayer (Francisco), 93.
 Pérez de Ayala (Ramón), 121.
 Perez de Guzman (Fernan), 20, 28.
 Perez de Hita (Ginés), 54, 102.
 Perez de Montalvan (Juan), 57, 66, 76.
 Perez de Oliva (Hernan), 38-39, 55.
 Perez de Ribera, 39.
 Pérez Galdós (Benito), 108-109, 110.
 Pérez Pujol (Eduardo), 116.
 Peter the Cruel, 8, 13, 14, 15, [*romances about*], 25.
 Petrarch (Francisco), 18, 31, 38.
 Philip II, of Spain, 59.
 Philip the Fair, of France, 8.
 Philip III, of Spain, 71, 75.
 Philip IV, of Spain, 31, 71, 75, 84, 86.
 Picón (Jacinto Octavio), 112.
 Pidal (Pedro José, first *marqués de*), 106.
 Pineda (Juan de), 21.
 Pinciano (Lopez). *See* Lopez Pinciano (Alonso).
 'Pitillas (Jorge).' *See* Hervas y Cobo de la Torre (José Gerardo de).
 Plautus, 38.
 Polo (Gaspar Gil), 52.
 Ponce de Leon (Bartolomé), 52.
 Prado (Andrés de), 35.
 Proverbios (*Libro de los buenos*), 6.
 Provincial (*Coplas del*), 22-23.
 Pulgar (Hernando del), 28.

Q

- Quadrado (José María), 116.
 Queipo de Llano (José María), 99.
Quêtos (Libro de los), 18.
 Querol (Vicente Wenceslao), 113.
Question de Amor de dos enamorados, 33.
 Quevedo (Francisco Gomez de).
 See Gomez de Quevedo y Villegas (Francisco).
 Quinault (Philippe), 84.
 Quintana (Manuel Josef), 95, 113.
 Quiñones (Suero de), 21.
 Quiñones de Benavente (Luis), 61.

R

- Racine (Jean), 88.
Razon de amor, con los denuestos del agua y el vino, 4.
 Rebolledo (*Conde Bernardino de*), 75.
 'Regañadientes (El Bachiller).'
 See Forner (Juan Bautista Pablo).
 Reina (Manuel), 114.
 Répide (Pedro de), 121.
Revelacion de vn hermitanno, 15.
 Rey de Artieda (Andrés), 57.
Reyes dorient (Libre dels tres), 4.
 Reynoso (Felix José), 95.
 Ribeiro (Bernardim), 42.
 Ribera y Tarragó (Julián), 117.
 Ribera (Luis de), 72.
 Rioja (Francisco de), 75.
 Rios (José Amador de los), 106.
 Rivadeneyra (Pedro de), 75.
 Rivas (*duque de*), 85, 96, 109.
 Roa (Martin de), 75.
 Rodó (José Enrique), 124.
 Rodrigo (El Rey don), 2, [*romances about*], 21, 25.
Rodrigo (Cantar de), 15.
 Rodriguez (Gonzalo), 16.
 Rodriguez de la Cámara (Juan), 21-22, 24.
 Rodriguez de Lena (Pedro), 21.
 Rodriguez del Padron (Juan). *See* Rodriguez de la Cámara (Juan).
 Rodriguez de Montalvo (Garcia), 28, 39.
 Rodríguez Marín (Francisco), 125.

- Rodríguez Rubí y Díaz (Tomás), 105.
 Rojas (Fernando de), 27.
 Rojas Zorrilla (Francisco de), 18, 84.
Roland (Chanson de), 2, 3.
Romancero general, 25.
Romances, 24-26.
Roman de la Rose, 18.
Roncesvalles, 3.
 Rosell (Cayetano), 106.
 Rotrou (Jean), 67, 70, 84.
Rueda (Lope de), 34, 35, 66, 91.
Rueda (Salvador), 114, 122.
 Rufo Gutierrez (Juan), 51.
 Ruiz (Juan), *arcipreste de Hita*, 5, 12-13, 14, 22.
 Ruiz Aguilera (Ventura), 114.
 Ruiz de Alarcon y Mendoza (Juan), 68, 70, 107.

S

- Saavedra (Eduardo de), 116.
 Saavedra (Isabel de), 60.
 Saavedra Faxardo (Diego), 77.
 Saavedra (Gonzalo de), 52.
 Saavedra Remirez de Baquedano (Ángel de). *See* Rivas (*duque de*).
 Saavedra y Torreblanca (Gonzalo de), 52.
Saber de astronomia (Libros del), 6.
Sabios (Libro de los doze), 6.
 Sabuco de Nantes (Oliva), 56.
 Sabuco y Álvarez (Miguel), 56.
 Sá de Miranda (Francisco de), 36.
 Saenz de Aguirre (José), 86.
 Saint-Simon (*duc de*), 20.
 Salas Barbadillo (Alonso Gerónimo de), 76, 77.
 Salazar (Eugenio de), 73.
 Salazar Mardones (Cristóbal de), 86.
 Salazar y Torres (Agustin de), 85, 107.
 Salcedo Coronel (Garcia de), 86.
 Sales (St. Francis of), 53.
 Salinas, 49.
 Sallust, 55.
 Samaniego (Felix Maria de), 90.
 San Josef (Fray Gerónimo de), 86.

Sanchez (Francisco) *el Brocense*, 93.
 Sanchez (Francisco), 56.
 Sanchez (Miguel) *el Divino*, 57, 67.
 Sanchez de Badajoz (Diego), 34.
 Sanchez de Badajoz (Garcí), 26.
 Sanchez de Vercial (Clemente), 18.
 Sanchez Talavera (Ferrant), 19.
 Sancho IV (of Castile), 8, 10, 11.
 Sand (George), 104.
 Sandoval (Manuel de), 122.
 Sannazaro (Jacopo), 72.
 San Pedro (Diego de). *See* Fernandez de San Pedro (Diego).
Santa Maria (Cantigas de), 6, 10.
Santillana (marqués de), 15, 18-19, 20, 24, 35, 45, 56.
 Santisteban Osorio (Diego de), 51.
 Santob (Rabbino), 15.
 Santos Álvarez (Miguel de los).
See Álvarez (Miguel de los Santos).
 Sarmiento (Martin), 90.
 Scarron (Paul), 69, 77, 84.
 Scott (Sir Walter), 102.
 Scudéry (Madalène de), 54.
 Schopenhauer (Arthur), 77.
 Sebastian I [of Portugal], 50.
 Segovia (Pero Guillen de). *See* Guillen de Segovia.
 Segura (Lorenzo de), 5.
 Sellés (Eugenio), 115.
 Sempere (Hieronym de), 41.
 Sem Tob (Rabbino). *See* Santob (Rabbino).
 Sepúlveda (Lorenzo de), 25, 44.
 'Serna y Palomares (Luis).' *See* Espronceda (José Ignacio Xavier Oriol Encarnacion de).
 Shakespeare (William), 41, 42, 63, 68, 105, 115.
 Shelley (Percy Bysshe), 63.
 Shirley (James), 69.
 Sidney (Sir Philip), 42.
 Sierra (Pedro la), 41.
 Sigüenza (José de), 75.
 Silva (Feliciano de), 21, 39, 42.
 Silvestre Rodriguez de Mesa (Gregorio), 24, 37.
 Solis y Rivadeneyra (Antonio de), 85.
 Somoza (José), 92, 100.

Sophocles, 38.
 Soria (Alonso de), 41.
 Stanislaus Kostka (St.), 88.
 Statius, 72.
 Stuart (Mary), 65.
 Stúñiga (Lope de), 21.
 Sylva (Antonio de). *See* Bermudez (Gerónimo).

T

Tablas Alphonsies (Libro de las), 6.
 Tacitus, 20, 55.
 Tafur (Pero), 21.
 Tamayo y Baus (Manuel), 105, 115.
 Tapia, 33.
 Tárrega (Francisco Agustin), 81.
 Tarsis (Juan de). *See* Villamediana (Juan de Tarsis, conde de).
 Tasso (Bernardo), 36, 65, 72.
 Tatius (Achilles), 63.
 Tebaldeo (Antonio), 32.
 Tellez (Gabriel). *See* Tirso de Molina.
 Tennyson (Alfred, Lord), 51.
Teodor (La Doncella), 8.
 Teresa de Jesus (Santa), 52-53.
Thousand and One Nights (The), 8.
 Ticknor (George), 74.
 Timoneda (Joan), 35.
 'Tirso de Molina,' 57, 67, 68-69, 82, 111.
 Toreno (José Maria Queipo de Llano, conde de), 99.
 Torre (Alfonso de la), 22.
 Torre (Francisco de la), 49-50, 91, 106.
 Torres Naharro (Bartolomé de), 32, 33, 34.
 Torres Rámila (Pedro de), 65, 73.
 Torres y Villarroel (Diego de), 88.
 Tribaldo de Toledo (Luis), 55.
 Trigo (Felipe), 121.
 Trueba y la Quintana (Antonio Manuel Maria de), 103, 111.
 Tyre (King of), 3.

U

Ulloa Pereira (Luis de), 84.
 Unamuno (Miguel de), 124.

Urbina (Isabel de), 64.
 Ureña y Smenjaud (Rafael de), 117.
 Urrea (Gerónimo de). *See* Ximenez de Urrea.

V

Val (Mariano Miguel de), 122.
 Valbuena (Antonio de), 117.
 Valdeflores (*marqués de*). *See* Velazquez de Velasco (Luis Josef).
 Valdegamas (*marqués de*). *See* Donoso Cortés (Juan Francisco Manuel Maria de la Salud).
 Valdés (Alfonso de), 43.
 Valdés (Juan de), 43.
 Valdivielso (José de), 72.
 Valencia (Pedro de), 71.
 Valera (Cipriano de), 75.
 Valera (Diego de), 23.
 Valera y Alcalá Galiano (Juan), 104, 108, 109-110, 115, 116, 119.
 Valle-Inclán y Montenegro (Ramón María del), 120.
 Vallés (Pedro), 45.
 Vega (Alonso de la), 35.
 Vega (Ricardo de la), 123.
 Vega y Cárdenas (Buenaventura José Maria del Carmen), 98, 107.
 Vega Carpio (Lope Felix de), 24, 33, 36, 45, 52, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63-68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 76, 81, 82, 83, 84, 89, 98.
 Velarde (José), 114.
 Velazquez (Gerónimo), 63, 64.
 Velazquez de Velasco (Luis Josef), *marqués de* Valdeflores, 91.
 Velez de Guevara (Luis), 69.
 Venegas de Busto (Alexo), 39.
 Veragüe (Pedro de), 15.
 Vera y Vargas (Juan Antonio), 85, 106.
 Verdi (Giuseppe), 96.
 Vicente (Gil), 33, 34.
 Vico (Giovanni Battista), 89.
 Villa-Amil y Castro (José), 116.
 Villaespesa (Francisco), 122.
 Villafranca (Pedro de Toledo, *marqués de*), 36.

Villalobos (Francisco Lopez de), 38.
 Villalon (Cristóbal de), 56.
 Villalpando (Juan de), 19.
 Villamediana (Juan de Tarsis, *conde de*), 71.
 Villasandino (Alfonso de). *See* Álvarez de Villasandino (Alfonso).
 Villaviciosa (José de), 72.
 Villegas (Antonio de), 42.
 Villegas (Esteban Manuel de), 71-72.
 Villena (Enrique de), 18, 19.
 Villon (François), 4, 18.
 Violante do Ceo (Sor), 86.
 Virgil, 18, 32.
 Vives (Juan Luis), 56, 93.
 Voltaire, 51.

W

Wycherley (William), 84.

X

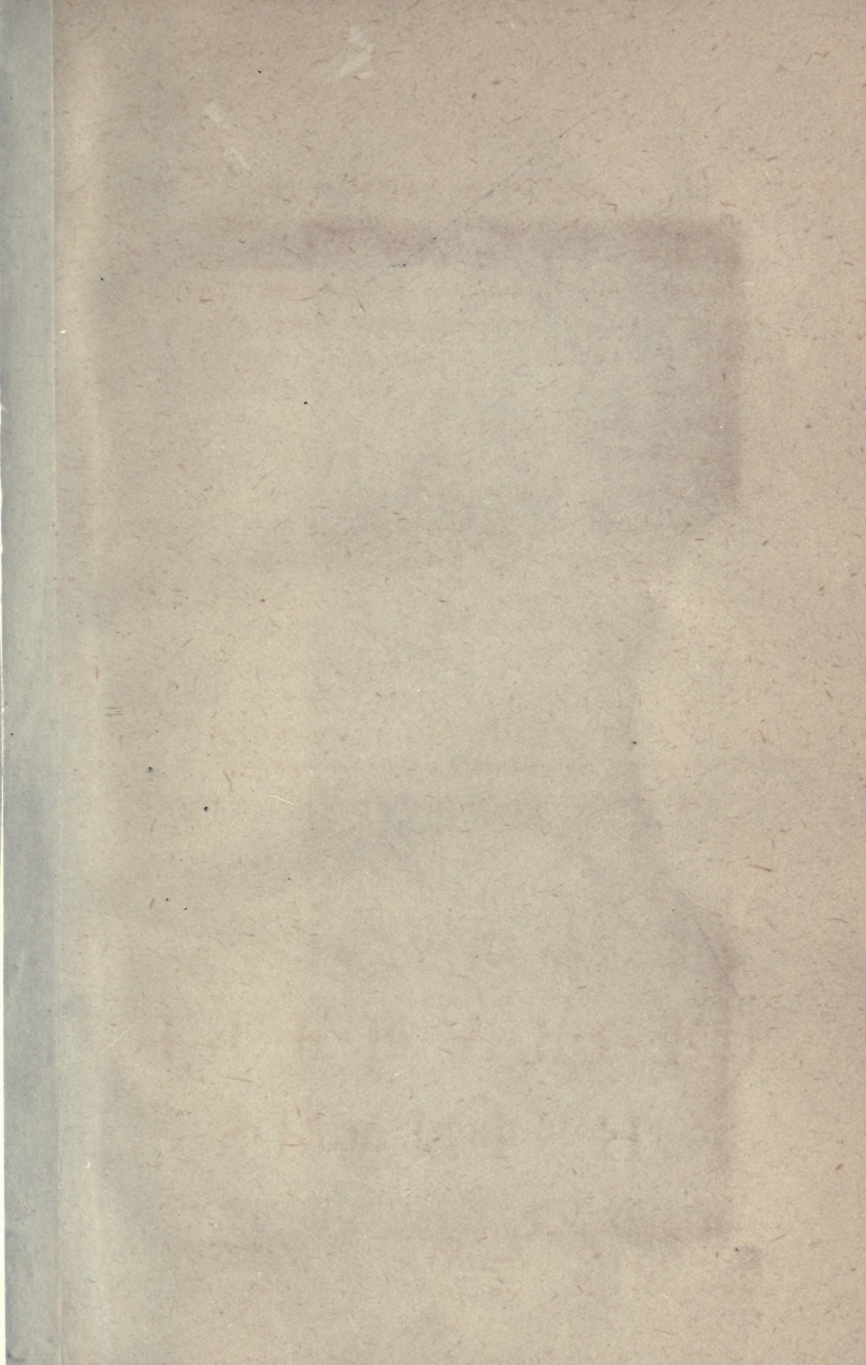
Xavier (St. Francis), 52.
 Ximenez de Rada (Rodrigo), 5-6.
 Ximenez de Urrea (Gerónimo), 37.

Y

Yannes (Rodrigo), 15.
 Yepes y Álvarez (Juan). *See* Cruz (San Juan de la).
 Yucuf, *Historia de*, 10.

Z

Zamora (Antonio de), 88.
 Zamora (José Gil de), 7.
 Zapata (Luis de), 37.
 Zárate y Castronovo (Fernando de), 84.
 Zayas y Sotomayor (Maria de), 77.
 Zea (Francisco), 99.
 Zeumer (Karl), 117.
 Zola (Émile), 119.
 Zorrilla y Moral (José), 85, 89, 98, 99, 111, 114.
 Zozaya (Antonio), 126.
 Zurita (Gerónimo), 55.



179033

Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James
Spanish literature, a primer.

LS.H
F5575sp

University of Toronto
Library

DO NOT
REMOVE
THE
CARD
FROM
THIS
POCKET

Acme Library Card Pocket
Under Pat. "Ref. Index File"
Made by LIBRARY BUREAU

Belaney, St.

